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VOL. IX APRIL, 1934 No. 2

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Published quarterly, in January, April, July, and October, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., 808 West End Avenue, New York.

Subscription rate, $2.00 per year, postpaid. Single copies, fifty cents.

Membership in the Association includes annual subscription.

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A scene from "Troilus and Cressida"
(From N. Rowe's edition of Shakespeare, 1709)

A Critique of the Text of "Troilus and Cressida"

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

PART I

THE QUARTO TEXT.

SCHOLARSHIP is still hopelessly divided on many important questions regarding Shakspere's *Troilus and Cressida.* Is it a good play? Has is great literary quality? Is it worthy of its author's genius? Is it really "the most contemptible" of his works? Is it the expression of a petty quarrel between its author and some of his contemporaries (Jonson, Marston, Dekker, Chapman)? Was it inspired by the political situation of the day? Does its mood reflect the mood of its author? Is it deliberate satire? Was it or was it not acted in its own day? What is the mystery behind the two title-pages of the first Quarto (1609)? When was it written? Why was it not included in the list of plays in the First Folio (1623)? Are parts of the play (the Prologue and a large portion of the fifth act) the work of another author? And so forth.[1]

Easier problems—though they are still subjects for controversial discussion—relate to the text. What was the nature of the "copy" from which the Quarto (herein designated as "Q") was published? Did Shakspere (or his Globe Theatre associates) place his manuscript in the hands of the publisher of Q when it was found that the play was a failure on the stage, as James A. Morgan[2] contended? Was the Folio text (designated hereafter as "F") printed from the poet's original manuscript, from the licensed playhouse copy, from an authorized transcript made for private circulation, or from a copy of Q which had been corrected by the Folio editors by reference to the playhouse copy? These questions, and others, have all been answered differently by different students of the play. Some[3] have even suggested that Q was derived from a shorthand transcript made during one or more performances of the play. Obviously, if the play had never been acted, this would have been impossible. If it had been acted, a shorthand reporter could not possibly have produced such a relatively good text, would not have omitted so many essential stage-directions, would not have preserved the verse-lining with that high

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[1]The student will find these and other interesting questions very ably discussed in Dr. R. M. Smith's recent edition of *Troilus and Cressida* (D. C. Heath, Boston) and in Professor William W. Lawrence's *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (Macmillan, New York).

[2]In the "Bankside Shakespeare" edition of this play, p. 21.

[3]See Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke's invaluable "First Folio Edition" of the play, p. 182, note numbered 89.

degree of excellence which we find in this Quarto,[4] would not have failed to take down lines (*e.g.,* IV. iv, 144-148[5]) essential to the action, and would occasionally have been guilty of such errors of mishearing, reproducing them in the text, as would have betrayed the auditory origin of the "copy." The shorthand theory may, therefore, be dismissed from further consideration.

Inasmuch as a review of the various guesses and hypotheses regarding these textual problems can serve no useful purpose at this time, we shall proceed at once to a new study of the original texts.

As a preliminary to such a study we may say, in the first place, that there is no way known to modern science by which it may be absolutely proved that these texts were published from a manuscript in Shakspere's own handwriting. Textual errors which might be attributable to peculiarities in Shakspere's penmanship could have had their origin in a compositor's mind as well as in a professional scribe's mind. A transcriber was as likely to misread Shakspere's script as a compositor. Furthermore, a compositor might have misread the copyist's text even where the latter had no difficulty in reading the poet's manuscript. There is, therefore, no reasonable justification for Mr. Peter Alexander's[6] opinion that "the Quarto copy was most probably in Shakespear's own handwriting," or Sir Edmund K. Chambers's[7] diametrically opposite view that "the manuscript used for F was probably the author's original" and that Q does *not* "rest directly on Shakespeare's hand" (p. 441).[8]

The text of Q, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Joseph Q. Adams (*A Life of William Shakespeare,* 1923, pp. 522 and 538), is neither "careful" nor "accurate," even though it is much better than some of the other texts published during Shakspere's lifetime. It is highly probable, therefore, that the printer's "copy" was neither the authorized text used in the theatre nor a clean copy in Shakspere's hand. Specific reasons for this view are the following:

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[4]Of course there are some incorrectly divided lines in Q, but so are there in F. In both, too, some prose passages are printed as verse and verse is sometimes printed as prose. But this is not the result of mishearing, as will appear later.

[5]Our line-numbering, unless there is warning to the contrary, is that of Mr. K. Deighton in the "Arden Shakespeare" (London, 1922).

[6]"*Troilus and Cressida,* 1609," The Library (London), 9:267-286, Dec., 1928.

[7]*William Shakespeare,* 1930, vol. 1, p. 440.

[8]Sir Edmund seems to be as confused as he is confusing in his discussion of this matter. On page 440 of his book he says that F was "set up from a copy of the Quarto" which had been corrected by reference to the poet's manuscript. If Heminge and Condell had access to the poet's version ("without a blot") why should they have printed from a corrupt printed version? Mr. Chambers's view, it may perhaps be worth noting, is virtually that which was advanced by Mr. William W. Lloyd in 1894 (*Critical Essays,* p. 217).

(a) The verse lining is often wrong, prose is sometimes (rarely) printed as verse, and verse is occasionally printed as prose.

The lines which are wrongly divided or undivided in Q are these: I. ii, 15-16; iii, 124, 228-229, 301-303, 329-330, 356-361, 386-387; II. iii, 202-203, 238-239; III. i, 120-121, 122-123; iii, 73-74, 86-87, 142-144, 148-150, 170-171; IV. i, 33-34, 48-49; ii, 15-16; iv, 66-67, 73-74, 93-94; v, 70-71, 75-76, 113-114, 208-209; V. ii, 41-43, 170-172; iii, 92, and V. v, 41-42.

Lines of verse which Q prints as prose are the following: I. iii, 363-364; II. ii, 51-52; iii, 211-212; III. ii, 123-125; IV. i, 45-47, 78-79; ii, 29-30; iv, 15-16, 18-19; v, 5-6, 20-21, 22-23, 38-39, 70-71, 225-226, 232-233, 267-268, 269-270; V. i, 50-51, 85-86, 93-94; ii, 14-15, 76-77, 94-95, 96-97, 120-121; iv, 22-23, 25-26.

Q prints the following prose lines as verse: I. ii, 130; III. i, 69-70, 71-72, 140; III, ii, 78-79; V. i, 6-8, 15-17. F, by the way, agrees with Q in the first three of these passages.

Too much significance, however, must not be attached to these facts. If the data are examined, it will be noted that the incorrectly-lined passages are, with only one exception (I. iii, 356-361), either short speeches, not exceeding one or two lines in length, or the first line of a long speech (especially one preceded by an extra-metrical word or name, or by an incomplete verse), or the concluding line or two of a speech (especially where the last line consists of an incomplete verse). It is evident, therefore, that almost all the mislinings were due to the printer's desire to economize on paper, to print the play on the least number of pages possible. This is confirmed by the fact that the instances of mislining are most frequent in the last two acts of the play, and that throughout the play speeches measuring less than a full verse in length are frequently printed on the same line with the concluding word or words of a preceding speech. (Rarely this occurs also in F.) The first line of a speech which opens with an incomplete verse (*e.g.*, II. iii, 187) is often printed on the same line with the incomplete verse ending a preceding speech. This economizing tendency undoubtedly explains also why two successive lines within speeches (I. iii, 228-229, II. iii, 202-203, and III. iii, 170-171), one short and one long, were sometimes printed as single lines. This phenomenon occurs in a number of Shakspere's other plays too.

Q prints two of Thersites' prose speeches (V. i, 6-8 and 15-17)—two lines each—as lines of verse, perhaps for no better reason than that in the manuscript copy they made up two full lines each. The failure of the scribe to begin a line of verse with a capital letter probably left it to the stupid compositor—the compositor of Q was, as we shall show, a stupid person—to determine whether such full lines (consisting of thirty-seven or thirty-six letters) were prose or verse. Why Q (and F too) printed one of Cressida's speeches (III. ii, 123-125) as prose it is not easy to say, unless the explanation is to be found in the fact that the first two lines occupied the full width of the page and that the scene in which they occur is almost wholly in prose. None of the explanations yet offered will explain, however, why the Quarto compositor butchered lines I. iii, 356-364 (but it is certain that this speech by Ulysses was subsequently revised), III. iii, 86-87, 142-144 (unless this speech, like Agamemnon's at I. iii, 70-74, represents a marginal addition intended to break up a long speech), 148-150; IV. i, 45-47 and 48-49.

(b) The punctuation of Q can be described best by the words "unintelligent" and "slovenly." Nothing indicates that the compositor thought it necessary to use his head. Evidently his manuscript, like that of many Elizabethan writers, was conspicuously lacking in punctuation marks. Elizabethan writers, like their predecessors, did not stand on points; they relied on their readers' intelligence. A conspicuous example of this is the now famous "addition" (folios 8 and 9) in the manuscript of the much-discussed *Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*.[9] Printers, however, thought it necessary to punctuate their texts. It has recently been asserted, by scholars whose fanaticism ignores available evidence, that the punctuation of Q only seems to be bad to us moderns—because its punctuation is dramatic, elocutionary, rhythmical, rhetorical, not grammatical or logical. The theory is preposterous. Reading the play as it is punctuated in Quarto would convert a great many lines into the rankest nonsense. No sane elocutionist, for example, would pay the slightest attention to the meaningless commas to be found at the end of a very large number of lines in this play, or fail to read exclamatory and interrogatory sentences as such only because the printer had an insufficient supply of exclamation marks and question marks, or had difficulty in distinguishing between the scribe's "points." An actor would have to be insane to read the following speech, for example, as it stands in the Quarto (I. i, 48-49, Griggs Facsimile):

[9]For a discussion of this subject see the present writer's book, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*, Columbia University Press, 1930, pages 149-152.

Oh *Pandarus* I tell thee *Pandarus,*
When I do tell thee there my hopes lie drown'd
Reply not in how many fadomes deepe,
They lie indrench'd, I tell thee I am madde:
In *Cressids* loue? thou answerst she is faire,
Powrest in the open vlcer of my heart:
Her eyes, her haire her cheeke, her gate, her voice,
Handlest in thy discourse: O that her hand
In whose comparison all whites are ynke
Writing their owne reproch; to whose soft seisure,
The cignets downe is harsh, and spirit of sence:
Hard as the palme of plow-man;

Another example, showing how lawlessly and senselessly Q is punctuated, will not be amiss. Cressida asks (IV. iv) whether it is possible that she and Troilus must part. Heart-struck Troilus answers (according to the Quarto) as follows:

And suddenly, where iniury of chance
Puts back, leaue taking, iussles roughly by:
All time of pause: rudely beguiles our lippes
Of all reioyndure: forcibly preuents
Our lock't embrasures, ftrangles [*sic*] our dere vowes,
Euen in the birth of our owne laboring breath:
We two that with so many thousand sighes,
Did buy each other, must poorely sell our selues:
With the rude breuity, and discharge of one,
Iniurious time now with a robbers hast,
Cram's his ritch theeu'ry vp hee knowes not how.
As many farewells as be starres in heauen.
With distinct breath, and consignde kisses to them,
He fumbles vp into a loose adewe:
And skants vs with a single famisht kisse,
Distasted with the salt of broken teares.

How terribly bad the punctuation of the Quarto really is will be conceded by one who notes the frequency with which the printer omitted necessary punctuation marks, or used periods, semicolons and colons in the place of commas; question marks in the place of exclamations and periods; commas in the place of semicolons, colons, periods, and question marks; question marks for periods; and so forth. This compositor's system of punctuation is neither grammatical nor dramatic, but chaotic. Students wishing to check these statements are referred to the following lines (in the Griggs facsimile): III. iii, 110, 121, 127, 129, 131, 138, 257, 265, 279, 297; IV. i, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 53-54; IV. ii, 50, 105, 112; iv, 36-42, 44, 54, 55, 58, 67, 76, 77, 86, 87, 91, 114, 126, 132, 134-135; v, 46, 47, 74, 79, 86, 88, 99, 122, 134, 161, 195; V. i, 46, 68-69, 106; ii, 3, 24, 167; iii, 69; v, 14; x, 29. Surely Shakspere cannot be thought to have been, directly or indirectly, responsible for such ludicrous

and bungling distortions of what he intended to say. But Mr. Alexander says (*op. cit.,* p. 280), "The punctuation of the Quarto is throughout dramatic."

(c) In a not inconsiderable number of instances the Quarto assigns speeches to the wrong person, or omits to designate the speaker (especially after an entry). Lines I. iii, 303-308, are continued to Ulysses, instead of being assigned to Agamemon. Ajax's "You whoreson cur!" (II. i, 43) is made part of Thersites' speech. Ulysses' line, "A' would have ten shares" (II. iii, 229), is assigned to Ajax. Nestor's words, "He's not yet through warm" (II. iii, 231), are made a part of Ajax's preceding speech. (In this error it agrees with the Folio.) At IV. ii, 81, we are told (in the left margin) *"Enter Cressida"* but the name of the speaker of line 81 is not designated. This occurs also at V. v, 43 (*"Enter Aiax"*), V. vi, 1 (*"Enter Aiax"*), V. vi, 2 (*"Enter Diomedes"*), V. vi, 13 (*"Enter Achilles"*), and at V. vii, 1 (*"Enter Achilles, with Myrmidons"*).[10] Agamemnon's line, "What Trojan is that same that looks so heavy?" (IV. v, 95), is assigned to Ulysses, probably because the manuscript was confusing at this point. (Ulysses' previous line, "They are oppos'd already," is wanting in Q, perhaps because of revision and deletion. Agamemnon's words, "They are in action," IV. v, 113, seem to have been intended to replace Ulysses' missing line, which, it must be admitted, is a great improvement.) Cressida's line, "Remember? yes." (V. ii, 13), is assigned to Calchas, though he is not on the stage.[11] Cressida's lines V. ii, 65-66, are assigned to Troilus, an error which is undoubtedly in some way connected with the omission of Troilus's previous line ("I will be patient; outwardly I will"). Her lines at V. ii, 81-82, are continued to Troilus. Because of the compositor's tendency to print a short speech on the same line with the concluding words of a previous speech, Ajax's exclamation, "Cobloaf!" is printed as part of Thersites' line, thus: "Thou shouldst strike him. *Aiax Coblofe"* (II. i, 40), making even the name of the speaker part of Thersites' speech. In V. x, 3, *"Troilus"* is omitted before "Hector is slain." The name *"Ajax"* is omitted in II. iii, 230, before the words "I will kneade him". At

[10]It may be noted that in many Elizabethan written and printed plays the name of the speaker of a speech is often omitted if the speaker is the person who has just entered, it being assumed that the person entering is the speaker. A notable example of this is to be found in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster,* published in 1616.

[11]Because F makes the same mistake Mr. Alexander argues (*op. cit.,* p. 270) that the Folio text was printed from a copy of Q. He is quite convinced that this is one of three errors in Q and F which "are not due to anything in the copy but to mere inadvertence on the part of the Quarto compositor." But in this he is mistaken. In Elizabethan script the abbreviation *Cre* may easily be written so as to be mistaken for *Cal.* (See L. Kellner's *Restoring Shakspere,* or my *Handwriting of the Renaissance.*)

V. iii, 23 *"Cass."* is wanting, thus giving the whole speech to Andromache. A total of nine in act V.

Speeches wrongly assigned in Q are the following: II. iii, 229 (*"Ajax"* for *"Ulysses"*); IV. v, 72 (*"Agamemnon"* for *"Achilles"*); V. ii, 77 (part of Cressida's speech is assigned to *Diomedes*); V. iii, 14 (*"Cressida"*); and V. x, 2 (the second line of Aeneas's speech assigned to *Troilus*). Again it will be noticed that most of the trouble is in the fifth act. It must also be noticed that it is only in the fifth act that the scribe omits (five times) the name of the speaker if the speaker is the person who has just entered. This probably means that the scribe who copied act V was not the same man who copied the rest of the play.

(d) Omissions of whole speeches, lines, and half lines also throw doubt on the accuracy and authenticity of Q. In the first place, there is the omission of the Prologue, whose Shaksperian authorship admits of no legitimate doubt. A compositor's carelessness probably explains the following omissions from the text: II. iii, 61-66 (almost certainly due to the compositor's eye having caught the repeated words "Patroclus is a fool" at line 66 instead of at line 59); II. iii, 96 (absolutely essential to the action of the scene; probably formed a line by itself and was overlooked); III. i, 118; IV. iv, 77; IV. v, 206; V. ii, 64 (probably because of the close similarity between the words—"will" and "well"—ending lines 64 and 65).

The other omissions in Q cannot be so easily accounted for. Ulysses' extra-metrical "This 'tis" (I. iii, 314) is unnecessary and was probably struck out by the author. Nestor's concluding lines at I. iii, 353-355, are as superfluous as they are obscure and fantastic; their omission is a decided improvement, and almost without a doubt represents the work of the author. An improvement, too, is the omission of II. iii, 80-82 ("Now, . . . confound all!"). The omission of Ulysses' words, "They are oppos'd already" (IV. v, 94), replaced by Agamemnon's "They are in action" (line 113), is a decided improvement and unquestionably the result of revision.

In Ulysses' description of Troilus (IV. v, 96) Q omits the words "They call him Troilus" and completes the verse by transferring the words "A true knight" from line 97 to line 96. Inasmuch as the omitted words are repeated in line 108, there can be no doubt that this alteration represents the author's intention in the matter. From this it naturally follows that here F comes nearer the author's original manuscript with his alterations and corrections still *in situ*.

Another indication that Q was made from a fairly clean copy, freed from many of the author's corrections, may be found in the omission of the unnecessary words "Of our rank feud" (IV. v, 132), even though this gives us only half a verse for line 132.

Andromache's lines at V. iii, 20-22, probably give us the results of the author's revision.

The omission of Troilus's words, "But by my ruin" (V. iii, 58), may be accidental or (as I prefer to think) an author's correction.

But the omission of the words "But march away: Hector is dead" (V. x, 21-22) is probably a copyist's or a compositor's error and due to the similarity of the words "away" and "say" which end lines 21 and 22. The words "Stay yet" (line 23) surely have reference to the "march away" of line 21.

At the end of V. iii Q omits three lines (a speech for Pandarus and one for Troilus) which F retains and which both Q and F print again near the end of the last scene of the play. There are two ways of accounting for this: (1) the lines may represent an addition made here by Shakspere for the purpose of providing a natural and rueful exit for Pandarus, or (2) they represent an unsuccessful deletion which was made when it was decided (probably by Shakspere himself) to give the play a comic ending by assigning a closing speech to Pandarus. There can be hardly any doubt that the play originally ended with Troilus's poignant line, "Hope of revenge shall hide our inward woe" (V. x, 31). Pandarus's lines (V. x, 35-46) were, therefore, probably written during the revision of the play, not during its original composition. What follows line 46 cannot, in my opinion, be Shakspere's.

Very fine passages which should have appeared in Q, but which do not, are the following: III. iii, 161-163, and IV. v, 165-170. However, it must be granted that, inasmuch as line 160 and the latter half of line 163 make a complete and good Shaksperian verse ("And leave you hindmost; then, what they do in present"), as well as good sense, the former of these may be an addition made by the poet after the Quarto scribe had made his copy. Lines IV. v, 165-170, part of Agamemnon's greeting to Hector, are too good to have been omitted if they had formed part of the original manuscript. They more probably represent an author's subsequent addition. If we read this play rightly, the words were added to heighten the contrast between Agamemnon's chivalry and Achilles' treachery.

(e) On the other hand, Q contains a few, very few, passages which the author seems to have intended to delete. These are the words "there he unarms him" (I. ii, 298), though there is no obvious reason for their deletion; Thersites' abrupt and pointless taunting of Ajax (II. i, 31-32); Paris's "I'll lay my life" (III. i, 91)—an omission in F which cannot be accounted for otherwise; and Thersites' utterly superfluous enumeration of painful and ugly diseases (V. i, 19-26) is long enough without the lines (22-26, "raw . . . tetter") wanting in F.

(f) Not only has the compositor transposed one line (II. ii, 46)—an insignificant and pardonable error—but in a number of instances he has transposed words within a line. Examples of this are to be seen in I. iii, 92 ("Corrects the influence of euill Planets"); I. iii, 351 ("What heart receives from hence a [*sic*] conquering part", as against the Folio's much better reading: "What heart from hence receyves the conqu'ring [*sic*] part"); II. ii, 90 ("And do a deed that neuer fortune did"); II. iii, 242 ("A hoarson dog that shall palter with vs thus"); III. i, 36 ("No sir, Hellen, could not you finde out that"); III. ii, 130 ("I loue you now, but till now not so much"); III. iii, 184 ("That [*sic*] what stirs not. The crie went once on thee," against the Folio's "Then [=than] what not stirs: the cry went out on thee,"); IV. ii, 69 ("Is it so concluded?" for "Is it concluded so?"); V. ix, 5 ("Great Hector was as good a man as he").[12]

(g) In Q a considerable number of words and expressions are omitted here and there. A list of these includes the following:

"needs" (I. i, 16), "of" (in "heating of," I. i, 26), "to" (I. i, 28), "on" (in "on of you," I. i, 74), "not" (I. i, 80), "care" (I. i, 82), "will" (I. iii, 297), "there" (II. i, 9), "a" (II. i, 19), "a" (II. i, 26), "he" (II. i, 109), "on their toes" (II. i, 115), "of Agamemnon" (II. iii, 70), "that" (II. iii, 107), "Ajax" (II. iii, 161), "in" (II. iii, 232), "friend" (III. i, 26), "art" (III. i, 29), "that" (III. i, 36), "poor" (III. i, 93, "poor disposer"), "he" (III. ii, 3), "is" (III. ii, 85), "Yet" (III. ii, 192), "you" (III. iii, 1), "your" (III. iii, 3), "to" (III. iii, 39), "O" (III. iii, 169), "a" (III. iii, 225), "to him" (III. iii, 269), "most" (III. iii, 279), "hanging" (V. i, 62), "Grecian" (III. iii, 284), *et cetera* (III. iii, 284), "he's" (III. iii, 306), "the" (IV. i, 52), "for him" (IV. ii, 66), "I beseech you" (IV. ii, 94), "my" (IV. iv, 58), "in" (IV. v, 98), "catarrhs" (V. i, 21), "and the like" (V. i, 26), "not" (V. i, 84), "adieu" (V. ii, 44), "you" (V. ii, 32), "these" (V. ii, 52), "But" (V. ii, 54), "as" (V. ii, 163), "young" (V. iv, 4), "thou" (V. iv, 29), "a" (V. vii, 16), "shout" (V. ix, 1), and "world" (V. x. 36). A total of fifty-four.

(h) Errors and absurdities due to carelessness and (or) unintelligence,

[12] In F there is one bad transposition: in II. i, 67, where we find "Well, why I do so" for "Well, why, so I do."

not mere typographical errors, are present in large numbers in Q. These may be listed as follows, the correct text appearing to the right of the colon:

*yea: you I. i, 28
her: it I. i, 47
in steed: instead I. i, 63
in it: in't I. i, 68
a: on I. i, 81
reides: recides I. i, 108
a field: afield I. i, 112
*the: they I. ii, 17
Illum: Illium I. ii, 47
valianty: valiantly I. ii, 133
*Ilion: Illium I. ii, 190
note: not(?) I. ii, 248
neuer: ne're I. ii, 253
in the: i'th' I. 22, 262
amongst: among I. ii, 267
lie at: lie I. ii, 286
two: too I. ii, 290
these: the I. iii, 2
*euer: every I. iii, 13
the: thy I. iii, 31
*ancient: patient I. iii, 36
*Corriuald: Co-rivall'd I. iii, 44
Spright: spirit I. iii, 56
the: thy I. iii, 61
*bases: basis I. iii, 75
In sisture: Insisture I. iii, 87
of: to I. iii, 102
*melts: meets I. iii, 110
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a mending: a-mending I. iii, 159
*vnsquare: unsquar'd I. iii, 159
our: and I. iii, 195
swinge: swing I. iii, 207
finesse: fineness I. iii, 209
whisper with: whisper I. iii, 249
that: the I. iii, 251
alowd: loud I. iii, 255
*his: this I. iii, 261
*restie: rusty I. iii, 262
A: One I. iii, 293
no: one I. iii, 293
*troth: truth I. iii, 300
sir: first I. iii, 304
weare: were I. iii, 326
the: this I. iii, 335
vilde: wild I. iii, 339
a: the I. iii, 351
it: we I. iii, 369
arre: tar I. iii, 391
murrion: Murrain II. i, 21
ath: o' II. i, 21
*the: thee II. i, 31
thresh: thrash I. i, 49
yee: you II. i, 60
*thus: this II. i, 60
It: I II. i, 76
I: Ile II. i, 80
Ajax: Jjax—, II. i, 82
wit.: it—, II. i, 84
and: and a' II. i, 109
at: out II. i, 109
to: too II. i, 112
their: your II. i, 114
*Clatpoles: clotpoles II. i, 126
first: fifth II. i, 132
Maintaine: Maintain—. II. i, 136
Farewell—: farewell! II. i, 136
*brooch: brach II. i, 123
trauell: travail, II. ii, 4
merits: merit's II. ii, 24
Way: Weigh II. ii, 26
*dyminutue: diminutive II. ii, 31
of: at II. ii, 33
choose: chose II. ii, 67
vnrespectue: unrespective II. ii, 71
with: of II. ii, 74
pale: stale II. ii, 79
lansh't: launch'd II. ii, 82
*shrike: strike II. ii, 210
depending: dependant II. iii, 23
a: have II. iii, 29
could'st: would'st II. iii, 30
†art not: art II. iii, 37
†where? O where?: Where? II. iii, 45
*into: in to II. iii, 47
Thersites: thyself II. iii, 52
*must: may'st II. iii, 55
†and this: and II. iii, 71
*sate: rates(?) II. iii, 86
appertainings: appertainments II. iii, 87
*come: came II. iii, 129
entertaine: enter you II. iii, 148
pride: it II. iii, 160
†do hate: hate II. iii, 167
†And yet: Yet II. iii, 169
th': the II. iii, 177
doth: do II. iii, 196
Shall: Must II. iii, 200

*staule: stale II. iii, 200
*liked: titled II. iii, 202
*push: pash II. iii, 212
*his: this II. iii, 210
he: a' II. iii, 214
humorous: humor's II. iii, 221
of: o' II. iii, 224
two'od: 'twould II. iii, 228
praiers: praises II. iii, 232
poure: pour in II. iii, 232
*You: Yon II. iii, 236
valiant—: valiant. II. iii, 241
with us thus: thus with us, II. iii, 242
now: now— II. iii, 244
*gat: got II. iii, 248
all thy: all II. iii, 250
boord: bourn II. iii, 256
*This: Thy II. iii, 257
*call: cull II. iii, 271
notable: noble III. i, 6
who is: who's III. i, 32
Cressid: Cressida III. i, 39
seeth's: seethes III. i, 42
theirs: there's III. i, 43
Hellen: Helena III. i, 44 (st-d)
Troylus.: Troilus— III. i, 67
Lord,: lord,— III. i, 68
faith—: faith, III. i, 74
Pandarus.: Pandarus,— III. i, 82
Lord?: lord,— III. i, 87
*lad: lord III. i, 112
I faith: i'faith III. i, 132
whose: who's III. i, 140
Their: They're III. i, 155
†from the: from III. i, 155
*this: these III. i, 158
*age: aye III. ii, 172
*trueth: truths III. ii, 186
simele's: similes III. ii, 188
or: and III. ii, 197
or: as III. ii, 205
*paine: pains III. ii, 213
*loue: come(?) III. iii, 4
passe: to pass III. iii, 39
slipery: slipp'ry III. iii, 84, 85
*obiect: abject III. iii, 128
*shriking: shrieking III. iii, 141
past: pass'd III. iii, 142
male: mail III. iii, 152
*a side: aside III. iii, 158
*forth right: forthright III. iii, 158
*passe: past III. iii, 164
her: thee III. i, 166
†Like to: Like III. ii, 9
*these: those III. ii, 11
Pandar: Pandarus III. ii, 13
subtill, potent: subtle-potent III. ii, 23
To: too III. ii, 23
spirite: sprite III. ii, 32
*fight: sight(?) III. ii, 54
*ath': o'th' III. ii, 59
graunt?: grant,— III. ii, 66
*affection: perfection III. ii, 100
*Comming: Cunning III. ii, 142
morning.: morning— III. ii, 152
recids: resides III. ii, 158
Let: O, let III. iii, 169
*goe: give III. iii, 178
That: Than III. iii, 184
depth: deep(?) III. iii, 199
*foule: soul III. iii, 203
*shrowdly: shrewdly III. iii, 229
they: we III. iii, 234
a: he III. iii, 251
twoo'd: 'twould III. iii, 256
vaine glory: vain-glory III. iii, 261
of the: o' (F=a) III. iii, 301
yee: you III. iii, 304
of: o' (F=a) III. iii, 306
*your: you IV. i, 4
*Lul'd: But IV. i, 16
tomorrow—: to-morrow! IV. i, 29
Calcho's: Calchas' IV. i, 37
*soyle: soilure IV. i, 56
they: you IV. i, 76
*not: but IV. i, 78
a weary: aweary IV. ii, 7
*ith' : o'th IV. ii, 34
its: 'tis IV. ii, 54
is: as IV. iv, 4
a: ah IV. iv, 11
*dieties: deities IV. iv, 27
Cram's: Crams IV. iv, 43
my throate: the root IV. iv, 54
*there is: there's IV. iv, 64
*nouelty: novelties IV. iv, 79
portion: person IV. iv, 79
I: I'll IV. iv, 135
*too: toe IV. v, 15
*a': o' IV. v, 45
his—: his. IV. v, 50
*a coasting: accosting(?) IV. v, 59
†shall they: shall IV. v, 69
dispo'd: dispos'd IV. v, 115
*day: drop IV. v, 133
*O yes: Oyes IV. v, 143

all: of IV. v, 163
thy: that I IV. v, 178
time.: time— IV. v, 210
*amorous: am'rous IV. v, 282
curre: core V. i, 4
*this: these V. i, 13
*box: boy V. i, 15
†the guts: guts V. i, 20
a: o' V. i, 21
in the: i'th' V. i, 21
*meanes: mean'st V. i, 29
sacenet: sarcenet V. i, 35
toslell: tassel V. i, 35
*into: in to V. i, 42
her's: here's V. i, 55
bare: brother's V. i, 62
*faced: forced V. i, 64
her's: he's V. i, 65
*day: dog V. i, 67
Moyle: mule V. i, 67
Fichooke: fitchew V. i, 68
sprites: spirits V. i, 74
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sure: sewer V. i, 84
that it: it V. i, 102
shall: should V. ii, 16
a: one V. ii, 30
*distruction: distraction V. ii, 37
prethee: pray thee V. ii, 38
*on: in V. ii, 74
†And by: By V. ii, 87
hour—: hour? V. ii, 100
*Court: co-act V. ii, 114
were: had V. ii, 119
spoile: soil V. ii, 130
*on: in V. ii, 165
a field: afield V. iii, 67
*destruction: distraction V. iii, 85
*yet: yes V. iii, 89
*ath's: o'th's V. iii, 104
*Ath': O'th' V. iv, 10
*began: begin V. iv, 19
a foote: afoot V. v, 21
scaling: scaled V. v, 22
a: the V. 25
*lust: luck V. v, 41
*spartan: sparrow V. vii, 11
*darkning: darking V. viii, 7
this: that V. ix, 1
*smile: smite(?) V. x, 7
*scrich-ould: screech-owl V. x, 16
*into: in to V. x, 17
their: there V. x, 17
Niobe's: Niobes V. x, 19
*Could: Cold V. x, 20
frienzes: frenzy's V. x, 29
ignomyny: ignomy and V. x, 35
traitors: traders V. x, 37
my: your V. x, 52
hold-ore: hold-door V. x, 53
a worke: a-work V. x, 38

The foregoing list presents to us some two hundred and fifty readings in which Q differs from F and almost all of which modern editors almost unanimously reject in favor of the Folio variants. All these errors are most probably attributable to a lack of attention on the part of the compositor. Some, indicated by an asterisk (*) in our list, may be the result of peculiarities in the handwriting of the manuscript, although it is evident that if the copyist or the compositor had worked intelligently he could not have made some of the absurd mistakes he was guilty of.

Included in the above list, and marked with an obelisk (†), are ten instances of the introduction of superfluous words into the text.

In addition to these Q has eleven other instances of words introduced into the text which do not belong there. These are "a" (I. ii, 156, "a more"); "great" (I. iii, 237, "great *Ioues*"); "True" (I. iii, 323, "True the purpose"); "*Ulysses*" (I. iii, 386), "without book" (II. i, 19, "an oration without booke");

"this" (II. iii, 59, "this *Patroclus*"); "O where" (II. iii, 45, Q="where? where? O where?"); "Come," (II. iii, 75, "Come *Patroclus,*"); "still love" (III. i, 119, Q="but loue, still loue still more"); "the" (in "the welcome," III. iii, 168), and "O" (IV. v, 199, "O let"). Here, too, perhaps, we should include the occurrence of the word "Ulysses" at the opening of line IV. v, 95, a word which Shakspere deleted when he revised the scene.

The above lists do not include a large number of merely verbal differences between Q and F, which do not affect the meaning. Among these we think of such variations as "toucheth" for "touches" (II. ii, 9), "Compters" for "counters" (II. ii, 28), "disgestion" for "digestion" (II. iii, 118), "on" for "of" (II. iii, 125), "do's" for "doth" (II. iii, 237), "thine" for "thy" (II. iii, 251), "a" for "he" (II. iii, 214), "who is" for "who's" (III. i, 32), "pallats taste" (III. ii, 20), "spirit" for "sprite" (III. ii, 32), "Pandar" for "Pandarus" (III. ii, 13), "you are" for "y'are" (IV. ii, 58), "amongst" for "among" (I. ii, 267), "yee" for "you" (II. i, 60), "my" for "mine" (IV. v, 161, and V, x, 35), "yon" for "yond" (IV. v, 220), and "as" for "so" (III. ii, 34).

Mere differences in spelling have, of course, been ignored. No significance can be attached to such orthographic differences as "on" for "one," "of" for "off," "hast" for "haste," "to" for "too," "heere" for "heare," "commixtion" for "commixion," "woe" for "woo," "whose" for "who's," "were" for "weare," and so forth.

Both Q and F abound in typographical errors, such as "ys" for "us," "vnpaulsive" for "unplausive," "liste" for "lift," "muft" for "must," "Set's" for "Let's," "yon" for "you," "tawine" for "twaine," "prat" for "part," "fex" for "sex," and so forth. A typographical error in IV. v, 143—"O yes" for the Old French "oyes" (=Hear ye!)—common to both Q and F, has been made one of the three main props of Mr. Alexander's argument (*op. cit.*, p. 270) that F was printed directly from Q. In view of the fact that the word is not English, and was probably written in the poet's own manuscript without a connecting link between the *o* and the *y* (possibly as a warning to the actor or to himself to pronounce the word dissylabically[13]), no argument whatever can be based upon the phenomenon. The scribes who prepared the Quarto and the Folio may have worked from a common original or from copies made from that original.

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[13]In *The Merry Wives* (V. v, 45-46) Shakspere rhymed the word with "toys." (Mr. Alexander's other argument—based upon the *Cal* for *Cre* error—we have previously disposed of.)

Carelessness and thoughtlessness may also be the explanation for the occurrence of the rather large number of final-*s* errors in Q. Such errors, we know, are a constant feature of Elizabethan texts. In many instances these were undoubtedly due to the scribe's or the compositor's inability to distinguish between a final Roman *e* and the secretary final-*s* flourish, or between such an *s* symbol and a purely ornamental terminal flourish. Modern editors of Elizabethan manuscripts, as I have elsewhere pointed out, have made the same mistakes. But in some instances, examples of which occur in Q, they can be attributed only to carelessness, more especially in the cases of the omission of a necessary final *s*. These are as follows:

"man" for "man's" (I. ii, 217), "comes" for "come" (I. ii, 261), "Infects" for "Infect" (I. iii, 8), "diuerts" for "diuert" (I. iii, 8), "nerues" for "nerve" (I. iii, 55), "include" for "includes" (I. iii, 119), "sword" for "swords" (I. iii, 237), "affaires" for "affair" (I. iii, 246), "fathers" for "father" (II. ii, 27), "reason" for "reasons" (II. ii, 35), "tell" for "tells" (II. ii, 36), "Make" for "Makes" (II. ii, 50), "shore" for "shores" (II. ii, 64), "sate" for "rates"[14] (II. iii, 86), "makes" for "make" (III. i, 94, but "makes" may stand for "make's," *i.e.,* "make his"), "shafts confound" for "shaft confounds" (III. i, 122), "pallats taste" for "pallate tastes" (III. ii, 20), "flames" for "flame"[14] (III. ii, 172), "trueth" for "truths" (III. ii, 186), "paine" for "pains" (III. ii, 213), "pallats taste" for "palate tastes" (III. ii, 20), "possession" for "possessions"[15] (III. iii, 5), "giuers" for "giver" (III. iii, 102), "reverb' rate" for "reverb' rates" (III. iii, 120), "Do" for "Does" (III. iii, 201), "soyle" for "soilure" (IV. i, 56), "affections" for "affection" (IV. iv, 6), "nouelty" for "novelties" (IV. iv, 79), "needs this" for "need these" (V. i, 13), "dolours" for "dolour" (V. iii, 84), "Mother" for "mothers" (V. iii, 45), "exclaim" for "exclaims"[15] (V. iii, 91), and "Troyans trumpet" for "Trojan trumpets" (V. viii, 16).

If the Folio did not "correct" the above readings some of them would undoubtedly have been retained by most modern editors.

A copyist (or compositor) deserves to be characterized as stupid who writes (or sets up) such stuff as the following: "Do a faire message to his Kingly eyes" (I. iii, 218); "To set his seat on that attentiue bent" (I. iii, 251); "The wound of peace is surely/ Surely secure" (II. ii, 14-16); "Vlisses entertaine" (II. iii, 148); "Ile tell his humorous blood" (II. iii, 221): "our head shall goe bare till merit louer part no affection in reuersion shall haue a praise in present" (III. ii, 98-101); "when their rimes, . . . Wants simele's truth tyrd with iteration." (III. ii, 186-188); "Like to an entred tide they all rush by,/ And leaue you him, most, then what they do in present:" (III. iii, 159-160); "here he comes, a sweete ducks" (IV. iv, 11); "my heart wilbe blowne vp by my throate" (IV. iv, 54); "Mock not thy affect, the vntraded

[14]This is a conjectural emendation by the present writer. (The Folio reads "sent"; most editors adopt Theobald's "shent.")

[15]Also a conjectural reading by the present writer. F and Q agree.

earth" (IV. v, 178); "a ring of Greekes haue shrupd thee in" (IV. v, 193); "the goodly transformation of *Iupiter* there, his be the Bull" (V. i, 59); "her's both Oxe and Asse, to be a day, a Moyle, a Cat, a Fichooke" (V. i, 66-68); and such a master stroke as this: "Princes: what griefe hath set these Iaundies ore your cheekes?" (I. iii, 1-2).

(i) Among the most interesting of Q's errors are those which should be attributed to the compositor's or the copyist's mistakes in reading the author's manuscript. Under this heading we include the following:

"scorn" for "storm" (I. i, 39), "lyte" for "tight" (I. ii, 8), "will" for "wit" (I. ii, 92), "note" for "not" (I. ii, 248), "these" for "this" (I. ii, 2), "ore" for "on" (I. iii, 2), "eyes" for "ears" (I. iii, 218), "seat" for "sence" (I. iii, 251), "a" for "or" (I. iii, 288), "vambrace" for "vantbrace" (I. iii, 296), "do" (written "doe") for "did" (I. iii, 372), "their" for "thie" (=thy, II. i, 114), "surely/ Surely" for "surety,/Surety" (II. ii, 14-15), "vnrespectue" for "unrespective" (II. ii, 71), "sate" for "rates" (II. ii, 86), "elders" for "old" (II. ii, 104), "liked" for "titled" (II. iii, 202), "tell" for "let" (II. iii, 221), "louer part" for "crown it"[16] (III. ii, 99), "age" for "aye" (III. ii, 172), "loue" for "come" (III. iii, 4), "ayming" for "shining" (III. iii, 100), "married" for "mirror'd" (III. iii, 110), "object" for "abject" (III. iii, 128), "him most" for "hindmost" (III. iii, 160), "neighbor" for "nature" (IV. ii, 75), "earth" for "oath" (IV. v, 178), "stichied" for "stithi'd" (IV. v, 255), "box" (V. i, 13), "needs this" for "need these" (V. i, 14), "meanes" for "mean'st" (V. i, 29), "her's" (V. i, 55), "faced" for "forced"[17] (V. i, 64), "day" for "dog" (V. i, 66), "distruction" for "distraction" (V. ii, 37), "on" for "in" (V. ii, 74), "said" for "say" (saie',, V. ii, 110), "Court" for "co-act" (V. ii, 114), "finde" for "five" (V. ii, 153), "fair" for "sure"[15] (V. iii, 41), "destruction" for "distraction" (V. iii, 85), "began" for "begin" (V. iv, 19), "*Polidamus*" for "Polydamas" (V. v, 6), "*Epistropus*" for "Epistrophus" (V. v, 11), "*Cedus*" for "Cedius" (V. v, 11), "*Thous*" for "Thoas" (V. v, 11), "smile" for "smite" (V. x, 7), and "scrich-ould" for "screech-owl" (V. x, 16). A total of forty-eight, twenty in Act V.

Attention may here be directed to the fact that though the fifth is the second shortest of the five acts constituting this play, it has the largest number of textual errors, not only errors resulting from calligraphic peculiarities in the manuscript but also from unintelligent reading of the manuscript (see pages 64-66) and from the omission of many single words (see page 63). When we ask ourselves what this fact means we seem to be compelled to answer that the fifth act must have been worked upon (*i.e.*, corrected and revised) much more than the other four acts. The very evident shifting of Pandarus's closing speech from the end of V. iii to the end of V. x lends strong corroboration to this view. Further evidence of this will be found in what follows.

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[16]If "it" was written "yt" the *y* could be mistaken for the symbol (a well-known brevigraph) for the letters *par*. See my book, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*, page 128.

[17]The correct reading may be "farced," as Pope suggested.

(j) An important matter which seems to have been wholly ignored by both early and recent investigators of the text of this play are the stage-directions. When we analyze Q's entrances and exits and other "business," comparing it with such a conservative modern text as Mr. Deighton's, we find that its stage-directions are so few in number and so often wrong that it is impossible not to conclude that Q was not and could not have been printed from a playhouse manuscript. As the play stands in Q it could not possibly have been acted.

The missing stage-directions, including entrances, exits, business, and music, may be listed as follows:

Missing Entrances.—*"Enter Pandarus"* (I. ii, 40), *"Soldiers pass over the stage"* (I. ii, 159), *"Enter Achilles and Patroclus"* (II. i, 59), *"Enter Patroclus"* (II. iii, 26 and 110), *"Enter a Servant"* (with Pandarus, III. i, heading), *"Enter Pandarus"* (III. ii, 28 and 108), *"Enter Pandarus"* (IV. ii, 22), *"Enter Aeneas"* (IV. ii, 45), *"Enter Troilus"* (IV. ii, 60), *"Enter Cressida"* (IV. ii, 80), *"Enter Aeneas, Paris, Antenor, Deiphobus, and Diomedes"* (IV. iv, 108), *"Enter Diomedes, with Cressida"* (IV. v, 16), *"Enter Diomedes"* (IV. v, 87), *"Enter Achilles"* (V. i, 77), *"Enter Troilus and Ulysses, at a distance; after them, Thersites"* (V. ii, 4), *"Enter Diomedes, Troilus following"* (V. iv, 21), and *"Enter Hector"* (V. vi, 11). A total of nineteen.

Missing Exits are the following: *"Exit Boy"* (I. ii, 199), *"Exit Pandarus"* (I. ii, 306), *"Exeunt all but Ulysses and Nestor"* (I. iii, 308), *"Exeunt"* (II. i, 140), *"Exit Achilles"* (II. iii, 76), *"Exit Thersites"* (II. iii, 82), *"Exit Patroclus"* (II. iii, 90), *"Exit Patroclus"* (II. iii, 146), *"Exit Ulysses"* (II. iii, 148), *"Exit Pandarus"* (III. i, 154), *"Exit Boy"* (III. ii, 6), *"Exit Pandarus"* (III. ii, 16, 34, and 63), *"Exeunt Agamemnon and Nestor"* (III. iii, 61), *"Exit Menelaus"* (III. iii, 63), *"Exit Ulysses"* (III. iii, 216), *"Exeunt Achilles and Patroclus"* (III. iii, 316), *"Exit Thersites"* (III. iii, 320), *"Exit Aeneas"* (IV. i, 50), *"Exeunt"* (IV. ii, 115), *"Exit Troilus"* (IV. iii, 9), *"Exit Pandarus"* (IV. iv, 54), *"Exeunt Troilus, Cressida, and Diomedes"* (IV. iv, 138), *"Diomedes leads out Cressida"* (IV. v, 53), *"Exeunt Achilles and Patroclus"* (V. i, 51), *"Exit Diomedes; Ulysses and Troilus following"* (V. i, 95), *"Exit Thersites"* (V. i, 109), *"Exit Diomedes"* (V. ii, 102), *"Exit Cassandra"* (V. iii, 90), *"Exeunt severally Priam and Hector"* (V. iii, 94), *"Exeunt Troilus and Diomedes, fighting"* (V. iv, 28), *"Exit Hector"* (V. iv, 33), *"Exit Servant"* (V. v, 5), *"Exeunt Troilus and Diomedes, fighting"* (V. vi, 11), *"Exeunt Aeneas and Trojan Forces"* (V. x, 31), *"Exit Troilus"* (V. x, 34), and *"Exit Pandarus"* (V. x, 58). A total of thirty-eight, thirteen in act five.

Diomedes is included among the persons entering at I. iii; modern editors omit his name. Calchas is wrongly made to enter with the Greek princes at II. iii, 82. Raving Cassandra is made to enter four lines too soon (at II. ii, 96). The entry of the princes Agamemnon, Ulysses, Nestor, Diomedes, and Ajax is wrongly placed after line 74. Q puts at the head of III. ii, the direction, *"Enter. Pandarus Troylus, man."*, although Troilus enters only after line 4. *"Exit"* after III. ii, 226, is an error for *"Exeunt."* Ajax and Menelaus are

omitted from the list of those entering at III. iii. After III. iii, 37, the text requires *"Exeunt Diomedes and Calchas,"* instead of *"Exit."* After III. iii, 69, we require *"Exit"* (Ajax) instead of *"Exeunt."* The Quarto's *"Exeunt"* after IX. ii, 72, is an error for *"Exeunt Troilus and Cressida,"* and the *"Exeunt"* after IV. ii, 76, for *"Exeunt Troilus and Aeneas."* At IV. v, 64, the Quarto's *"Enter all of Troy"* is an absurd error for *"Enter Hector, armed; Aeneas, Troilus, and other Trojans, with Attendants."* (*"All of Troy"* would include Priam, Paris, Helen, Andromache, Hecuba, Pandarus, Margarelon, etc.) At IV. v, 276, Q has a general *"Exeunt,"* although it is evident that Troilus and Ulysses remain. Q's stage-direction at V. i, 74 (*"Enter Agam: Vlisses, Nest: and Diomed with lights"*) omits Hector, Troilus and Ajax. The *"Exeunt"* after V. i, 96, would remove Thersites from the scene and deprive us of his characterization of Diomed (V. i, 97-109). *"Exit"* (Nestor) after V. v, 44, is discarded by modern editors, and the *"Exit"* at the end of the scene (V. v, 47) is rightly changed to *"Exeunt."* This is true also of the Quarto's *"Exit"* at the end of V. vi, and after V. vii, 8 and 24. Q has at the head of V. x, the stage-direction, *"Enter Aeneas, Paris, Antenor, Diephobus,"* although the last three have not been shown as playing any part in the last act. A total of twenty-eight errors in the fifth act.

Directions for "music" are missing at the following points: I. iii, head (*"Sennet"*), I. iii, 212 (*"A tucket"*), III. i, 17 (*"Music within"*), III. i, 118 (Pandarus *"sings"*), III. iii, head (*"Flourish"*), IV. iv, 12 (*"Trumpet sounds"*), and V. iv, head (*"Alarums"*). The direction *"within"* is wanting at the following points: II. ii, 97 and 99, as well as at V. ii, 2 and 4. *"Aside,"* a stage-direction which is not often found in Elizabethan texts, is wanting at the following points: II. iii, 169, 209, 210, 218, 220, 222, 225, 228, 229, and 231. *"One knocks"* is printed at IV. ii, 36, though its proper place is at line 34. Other stage-directions wanting in the Quarto are the following: *"Ajax strikes Thersites"* (II. i, 12, 43, 57, and 82); *"Ajax takes Agamemnon aside"* (II. iii, 96), *"Cressida, embracing Troilus"* (IV. iv, 12), *"Ajax and Hector enter the lists"* (IV. v, 93), *"Hector and Ajax fight"* (IV. v, 112), Cressida *"whispers"* to Diomed (V. ii, 7), Troilus, *"tearing the letter"* (V. iii, 110), Hector *"Puts off his helmet and lays his sword aside"* (V. viii, 4), *"Hector falls"* (V. viii, 10), Achilles *"sheathes his sword"* (V. viii, 20), and *"Shouts within"* (V. ix, head).

Additional indications that Q was printed from a non-theatrical copy may perhaps be found in the following facts: at III. iii, 37, we are told, marginally,

that *"Achilles and Patro[clus] stand in their tent,"* instead of *"Enter Achilles and Patroclus, before their tent."* Other evidences of this may also be seen in Q's omission of the almost invariable notation *"Actus Primus, Scoena Prima"* at the opening of the play; in the direction, *"Enter Cressida rauing"* (II. ii, 100); in the assignment of the words "The Trojans' trumpet!" (IV. v, 64) to *"All"* just after the direction *"enter all of Troy"* (the Trojans surely did not join in the exclamation); and in making the *"trumpets cease"* (IV. v, 115) before Diomedes has ordered the combatants to stop the bout. These facts, by the by, go a great way towards showing that the occasional occurrence of a stage-direction in the imperative mood (*"Sound alarum"* at I. i, 96; *"Sound a retreat"* at I. ii, 187 and at III. i, 154; *"Sound trumpet"* at I. iii, 258; *"knock"* at IV. ii, 41) does not necessarily point to a playhouse copy.

However, the foregoing considerations do not preclude the possibility that Q was printed from a fairly faithful transcript of the poet's original manuscript. Elizabethan authors omitted the designation of the speaker of a speech now and then. (For an example see Middleton's own copy of *A Game at Chesse*. Mr. R. C. Bald's edition, III. i, 33, 45; III. iii, 13; IV. ii, 1; IV. iv, 142, etc.) Sometimes they assigned a speech to the wrong person.[18] (Middleton did this in his own manuscript at V. i, 53 and V. ii, 13.) Occasionally they omitted stage-directions.[19] (We find this in Middleton's manuscript at IV. iv, 14; V. i, 48; V. iii, 178; V. iii, 198.) They also omitted words and lines occasionally, and also made other blunders, as we all do. Many of the errors in Q may therefore be due to the author himself. In *A Game at Chesse* we find that the author himself wrote as prose a speech consisting of five lines of verse (V. iii, 205-209). To our great amazement we discover that Middleton committed errors of a kind which we would hardly expect of an author transcribing his own manuscript. In one place (II. i, 160) he actually makes part of a stage-direction part of his text! After this we are not too greatly astonished on discovering that in one place (V. ii, 91) he repeats a line from a previous speech.

That Shakspere's manuscript, *via* a transcriber, *was* the basis for Q is borne out by the correctness (as a whole) of the verse lining and by the extraordinarily large number of metrical elisions, contractions, syncopes, apo-

[18]These errors undoubtedly resulted from the habit of writing out all the speeches first and then adding the names of the speakers. In doing this the scribe occasionally overlooked a name, or his eye caught the wrong name.

[19]Omissions of occasional stage-directions, which seem also to have been inserted (in the right margin) after the dialogue, are also probably due only to oversights.

copes, aphereses, and synalepha occurring throughout the play. In the first scene of this play we have, *metri gratia,* the following: *Ile, ne'er, unpractis'd, suffrance, indrench'd, tell'st, lay'st, starv'd, he's, 'tis, call'd, wand'ring,* and *gor'd.* On the other hand, when the verse requires final *ed* in preterites and past participles to be sounded as a separate syllable Q is careful to print *ed.* instead of *'d* or *t.* In several instances where the author (or possibly the copyist) slipped into writing *ed* or *est* where the verse required *'d* or *'st* the scribe attempted to correct the error by inserting an apostrophe before the superfluous *e,* and the compositor set up both error and correction. Note, for example, the words *dy'est* in V. iii, 81, and *lou'ed* in V. ii, 66. Elizabethan poets were evidently much more punctilious about such matters than we have hitherto given them credit for. Of course, poets occasionally erred in these matters in the hurry of writing; and, of course, professional copyists might be expected to err as regards such minutiae more often than the author-scribe; and, with equal certainty, the compositor who followed the copyist might be expected to make even more mistakes in such details. Our study of the manuscripts and the Quartos of *A Game at Chesse* fully bears out these surmises.[20]

Before proceeding to a study of F, we may summarize our conclusions from the preceding investigation:

Q was not printed from a theatrical prompt-book; the compositor's "copy" was an imperfect transcript of a partially revised original; the compositor did his work indifferently and experienced considerable difficulty in deciphering his "copy"; Q is in no sense of the word "good" or a "good Quarto"; the manuscript from which the transcriber made his copy was disfigured with corrections and deletions, especially in the fifth act; the publication of the play (in 1609) did not have the authority of the dramatist[21] or of "the grand possessors" (the King's Men).

A number of writers have suggested the presence in Q and F of the hand of a collaborator. The old "Cambridge" editors thought this person a tamperer, one who made alterations in the manuscript *after* Q had been printed. "Perhaps," said they, "the corrections are due to the writer who did not shrink from prefixing to Shakespeare's play a prologue of his own." Even though we do not agree with Messrs. Clark and Wright in assigning the Prologue to another than Shakspere, we do think that a meddler's hand is apparent in

[20]See the present writer's essay, "Notes on *The Comedy of Errors,*" in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft,* 1932, vol. 68.

[21]If Shakspere had sanctioned the publication of the play, would he not have supplied Bonian and Walley with a better and more accurate "copy" than they seem to have had?

Troilus and Cressida, but it is as apparent in Q as in F. We find his clumsy hand in the last two lines of Act III, ii, and in V. x, 47-58. In the case of the latter this opinion is based purely on esthetic considerations, but in the former we have what may be considered objective evidence. In Q Pandarus's "Away!" (III. ii, 224) is followed by the stage-direction *"Exeunt,"* that is, Troilus and Cressida went off into the "chamber" and Pandarus went his way, chuckling and rubbing his palms gleefully, into another part of the house. Sometime prior to 1609 the unknown "corrector" added a wretched and undramatic couplet, bearing a striking resemblance to the lines at the close of the play, with which Pandarus closes the scene. This is followed in Q by the word *"Exit."* In F there is no stage-direction at the end of line 224, but there is an *"Exeunt"* after line 226. Now, it is impossible that Shakspere would have had Troilus and Cressida stay after Pandarus's "Away" and hear his address to "all tongue-tied maidens." Besides, Shakspere would not have referred to his sophisticated Cressida as "tongue-tied." The original manuscript must, therefore, have been tampered with even prior to its first publication.

[*To be continued*]

The Elder Hamlet and the Ghost

By JOHN W. DRAPER

HAMLET seems commonly to be considered a one-man play, in which all the characters but Hamlet are nothing and do nothing; and Hamlet himself so much delays his doing as to arouse question and conjecture. Nevertheless, the drama is based on thrilling episode: murder, incest, and, some say, usurpation and adultery, which happen, as in Greek tragedy, before the play begins; and the appropriate symbol of this antecedent action, rich in horrors, is the Ghost. The Ghost, moreover, is the incentive force that starts Hamlet on his career of taking, or delaying to take, condign revenge. Shakespeare himself is said to have played this part; and, whenever present, the Ghost unquestionably dominates the stage. But critics, seeing in *Hamlet* only a one-man tragedy, have until recently given the Ghost only casual mention; and even recently the part has had scant justice; for they have hardly studied it as an essentially Elizabethan concept of demonology and folklore. Dr. Greg has tried to explain it in modern terms as a mere "hallucination"[1] due to Hamlet's distracted nerves: if it were so, a similar state of nerves produced an identical "hallucination" in Bernardo, Marcellus, and even in the skeptical Horatio, all of whom clearly take the Ghost as the "sensible and true avouch" of their own eyes; and Horatio in particular accepts it as "something more than fantasy".[2] Mr. Bradby, instead of modernizing the Ghost, gives him up as one of Shakespeare's failures: he finds it inconsistently conceived; for, in Act I, it appears for all to see, whereas in Act III it appears to Hamlet's eyes alone;[3] but Miss Campbell shows that it runs quite true to Elizabethan ghostly form; for such spirits, as their purposes required, might appear to one or more than one in any gathering.[4] Perhaps, then, a new study of the Ghost may be permitted, a study of him in relation to his embodiment in life, in relation to Elizabethan ghostly lore, and in relation to the characters and actions of the play.

The elder Hamlet, like Shakespeare's Henry V,[5] must have approximated the Renaissance ideal of royalty. In the *Bestrafte Brudermord,* he is "majestic"; and his Ghost, though it is crudely drawn and boxes the ear of a poor sentinel, is quite properly a "noble shade".[6] From these slight hints,

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[1]W. W. Greg, "Hamlet's Hallucination", *M. L. R.,* XII, 401 *et seq.* Cf. J. D. Wilson, *M. L. R.,* XIII, 129; and E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies,* New York, 1927, 187 *et seq.* and 236 *et seq.*

[2]*Hamlet,* ed. Furness var. ed., I, i, 23 and 54 *et seq.*

[3]G. F. Bradby, *Short Studies in Shakespeare,* London, 1925, 161 *et seq.*

[4]Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes,* Cambridge, 85 *et seq.*

[5]See J. W. Cunliffe, "Henry V as Prince and King", *Columbia University Shakespeare Studies,* New York, 1916.

[6]*Bestrafte Brudermord,* III, v and vi.

[7]Line 243.

Shakespeare has developed a truly royal figure. In the first quarto, he is a "gallant king";[7] and, even more fully, in the standard text, his magnanimity appears. He has great "natural gifts",[8] and may be compared even to a "radiant angel".[9] His very murderer says that at his death, the "whole kingdom" was "contracted in one brow of woe";[10] his Queen was "Like Niobe, all tears";[11] and Hamlet, who so loved and admired him, was inconsolable.[12] His private virtues, furthermore, appear in the tender "dignity" of his love for Gertrude.[13] King Hamlet, however, as the Elizabethans would expect, appears chiefly as a king:[14] he had "An eye like Mars, to threaten and command";[15] he was "valiant", and renownedly so;[16] he overcame the Norwegian Fortinbras,[17] and seems likewise to have fought the Poles.[18] Such warlike royalty should fitly show itself "armèd at point exactly Cap-a-pe", bearing a "truncheon"[19] and moving "majestical" with "martial stalk".[20] But supernatural terrors apparently obscure even this royal awe and majesty: it was a "dreaded sight";[21] the soldiers were "distill'd almost to jelly with the act of fear";[22] and even the cool Horatio had reason to "tremble and look pale".[23] Dealings with such, even the merest speech, required circumspection;[24] and, in the first scene, Horatio, as a "scholar", has been brought to "Question it"[25] in proper fashion. The apparition then was doubly terrible; and added to this terror was a doubt concerning its identity.

Indeed, although the Ghost runs true to form and answers "all the tests" for such an earthly visitant,[26] one could not be too sure that it was really what it seemed and that its message could be trusted. Mediæval learned opinion and Renaissance folklore, which largely derived from it, allowed for the dreadful chance that any seeming ghost might be a demon, like the Witches

[8] *Hamlet, ed. cit.*, I, v, 51.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, v, 55.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 3-4.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 149.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 188; and III, iv, 53 *et seq.*
[13] *Ibid.*, I, v, 48.
[14] *Ibid.*, III, iv, 55 *et seq.*
[15] *Ibid.*, III, iv, 57.
[16] *Ibid.*, I, i, 84.
[17] *Ibid.*, I, i, 86.
[18] *Ibid.*, I, i, 63.
[19] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 20, 204.
[20] *Ibid.*, I, i, 143.
[21] *Ibid.*, I, i, 24-25.
[22] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 204-205; and I, i, 66.
[23] *Ibid.*, I, i, 53.
[24] See the present writer, "Hamlet's Schoolfellows", about to appear.
[25] *Hamlet*, I, i, 45.
[26] Campbell, *op. cit.*, 85 *et seq.* and 121 *et seq.* This discussion is fully documented.

beginning of his speech;[36] and, in the *Spanish Tragedy,* the Ghost of Andrea, at the very start, declares himself a *bona fide* ghost and tells his name.[37] The doubts of Mediæval lore, intensified by Protestant demonology, made the question of identity the first and basic one concerning any apparition. The in *Macbeth,*[27] that assumed this shape to tempt some one to evil. Protestant demonology as expressed in Lavater and in James I,[28] which allowed no Purgatory from which Ghosts might escape, attributed not merely some, but all such manifestations to the devil himself; and Reginald Scot, the Elizabethan demonologist, puts the matter plainly:

> All the souls in heaven may come down and appear to us when they list. . . . They say that you may know the good souls from the bad very easily. For a damned hath a very heavy and sour look; but a saint's soul hath a cheerful and a merry countenance: these also are white and shining, the other coal black. And these damned souls also come up out of hell at their pleasure. . . . They affirm that damned souls walk oftenest: next unto them the souls of purgatory.[29]

Nashe, furthermore, declares that the devil assumes the shape of a dead parent, the better to tempt his victim. Thus the question of identity was the natural first reaction of an Elizabethan toward a ghost. Even Macbeth, in addressing Banquo's ghost, though he has good reason to believe it quite authentic, nevertheless suggests that it may be a devil in disguise, when he cries out, "Take any shape but that";[31] and even the Roman Brutus, on seeing Caesar's ghost cries out at once:

> Ha! who comes here?
>
> . . .
>
> Art thou some god, some angel, or some devil,
> That makest my blood cold and my hair to stare?
> Speak to me what thou art.[32]

In Greene's *Friar Bacon,* likewise, when the "Hostess of Henley" is conjured to appear, Miles mistakes her for a "she-devil";[33] and the apparition of Hercules is described as "the fiend appearing like great Hercules".[34] In *Faustus,* the Emperor, on seeing the spirit in the shape of Alexander, exclaims over its identity.[35] In Chapman's *Bussy,* the spirit Behemoth says who he is at the

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[27]See W. C. Curry, "The Demonic Metaphysics of 'Macbeth' ", *S. P.,* XXX, 395, 419 etc.
[28]Campbell, *op. cit.,* 85 *et seq.*
[29]R. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1854), in J. D. Wilson, *Life in Shakespeare's England,* Cambridge, 1920, 31-32.
[30]T. Nashe, *Terrors of Night* (1594), in *Works,* ed. McKerrow, III, 224.
[31]*Macbeth,* III, iv, 102.
[32]*Julius Caesar,* IV, iii, 275 and 279-281.
[33]Greene, *Friar Bacon,* iv, 125.
[34]*Ibid.,* ix, 100.
[35]Marlowe, *Faustus,* Sc. x.

existence of such a doubt in Hamlet's mind was suggested to scholars in the *Quarterly* as early as 1847;[38] but most recent critics of the play dismiss the matter casually: Bradby merely states that Hamlet never doubted the Ghost's word;[39] Nicoll thinks Hamlet's uncertainty about the Ghost "manufactured" *ad hoc;*[40] and Waldock, in a similar vein, remarks that it appears in his soliloquy,[41] "out of a clear sky".[42] Strange indeed that Shakespeare, who allowed for such a question in *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth,* should have depicted this more important Ghost of Hamlet's father quite apart from the doubts and pre-conceptions of his audience.

In the *Bestrafte Brudermord,* this question of identity clearly appears in Act I. Though Horatio recognizes the face and form, he is uncertain of the Ghost;[43] and Hamlet hopes it is not his father "for the souls of the pious rest quietly till the time of our resurrection".[44] He carefully checks up on its time of coming and on its appearance to decide whether it really is a Ghost; and, when told it came at midnight, he seems convinced, and addresses the spirit as "my royal father".[45] In Shakespeare, this doubt lasts longer, and is more significantly used. It certainly does not appear "out of a clear sky" late in the second act; and it assails not only Hamlet but all the others who experience the spectacle. Marcellus mentions the Ghost, not as a king, or even as a person, but as a "thing", a "sight",[46] an "apparition";[47] Bernardo wants to be assured of its identity;[48] so does Marcellus;[49] and Bernado calls it," . . . this portentous figure . . . *so like* the king".[50] At first Horatio takes it but as mere "fantasy";[51] but he is soon convinced of its spiritual essence, if not of its identity. The Ghost appears: and three of the six lines of the dialogue that immediately precede his speech with it raise this same question of identity:

Ber. In the same figure, like the king that's dead.
Mar. Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Horatio.
Ber. Looks it not like the king? mark it, Horatio.
Hor. Most like; it harrows me with fear and wonder.
Ber. It would be spoke to.

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[36]Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois,* IV, ii, 70.
[37]Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy,* I, i, 1 *et seq.*
[38]See *Hamlet, ed. cit.,* vol. II, p. 170.
[39]Bradby, *op. cit.,* 169.
[40]A. Nicoll, *Studies in Shakespeare,* London, 1931, 67.
[41]*Hamlet,* II, ii, 574 *et seq.*
[42]A. J. A. Waldock, *Hamlet,* Cambridge, 1931, 47.
[43]*Bestrafte Brudermord,* I, iii.
[44]*Ibid.,* I, iv.
[45]*Ibid.,* I, iv.
[46]*Hamlet,* I, i, 21 and 25.
[47]*Ibid.,* I, i, 28.
[48]*Ibid.,* I, i, 43.
[49]*Ibid.,* I, i, 58.
[50]*Ibid.,* I, i, 109-110. The italics are mine.
[51]*Ibid.,* I, i, 23 and 32.

Mar. Question it, Horatio.
Hor. What art thou, that usurp'st this time of night,
Together with that fair and warlike form
In which the majesty of buried Denmark
Did sometimes march?[52]

If the Ghost were unquestionably the spirit of the King, why re-iterate, and ask confirmation of, the apparent similarity? And why should this matter of identity be the first question on Horatio's lips? The word "usurp'st", moreover, certainly implies that he thought the apparition had no right to such a face and figure; and perhaps it was this implication that "offended"[53] the Ghost so that it disappeared. After two or three horror-struck interjections, the watchers raise again the question of identity; this time it is Marcellus: "Is it not like the king?" And Horatio answers: "As thou art to thyself". Horatio admits the similarity; but similarity was no certain proof; and, in the talk that follows, he refers to "Our last king, Whose *image* even now appear'd to us";[54] and Bernardo speaks of it as "this portentous figure . . . so *like* the king".[55] Horatio's address to the Ghost upon its second coming, however, implies a greater belief in its being what it seems; and then, a moment later, his calling it a "guilty thing"[56] suggests an infernal demon rather than his great liege lord, the "goodly king",[57] whose funeral he had hurried home to honor. Indeed, no less than fifteen times during this first scene, before Hamlet has appeared at all, the question is raised as to the Ghost's identity, and generally with doubts cast on its being what it seems. Throughout this scene, moreover, the apparition is always "it", and is never apparently thought of as a human essence or spoken to with royal attributes or titles; and Horatio addresses it as "thou", like the Witches in *Macbeth,* not with the courtly "you" or the honorific third person of a king.

In the second scene, when Horatio breaks the news to Hamlet, he expresses some uncertainty, and says, "I *think* I saw him [the late King] yesternight",[58] he calls the Ghost "A figure *like* your father", and he ends his description of the strange event: "I knew your father; These hands are not more like."[59] The subsequent questions that Hamlet asks seem to be an effort to determine not only whether it looked like his father but also whether it seemed to belong to the order of ghosts or of devils; and, when Hamlet determines to watch that night, his very language shows the doubt that apparently without prompting has come into his mind:

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[52]Cf. first quarto, line 38 *et seq.*
[53]*Hamlet,* I, i, 50.
[54]*Ibid.,* I, i, 80-81. Italics are mine.
[55]*Ibid.,* I, i, 109-110. Italics are mine.
[56]*Ibid.,* I, i, 148.
[57]*Ibid.,* I, ii, 186.
[58]*Ibid.,* I, ii, 189. Italics are mine.
[59]*Ibid.,* I, ii, 228 *et seq.*

> If it assume my noble father's person,
> I'll speak to it though hell itself should gape
> And bid me hold my peace.[60]

The reference to "hell itself" clearly implies the origin of the "it" which might "assume" the king's appearance: indeed, when no less an authority than King James declared that the devil himself sometimes appeared in human shape to lure a man to mortal sin,[61] such doubts as these must have seemed just and normal. In this uncertain state, Hamlet leans now one way, now the other; sometimes his language implies belief that this really is his "father's spirit in arms";[62] and sometimes it does not. Horatio once refers to the apparition as "he";[63] but otherwise they all use "it". Perhaps Horatio is partially convinced,[64] but surely not the others.

In the fourth scene, Horatio starts with "his",[65] and then turns to "it"[66] when the Ghost suspiciously lures Hamlet to a distance for their talk, and Marcellus suggests the dangers of accompanying it. Hamlet himself is very dubious at first. On first seeing the apparition, he cries out for heavenly aid as if it were the devil, and addresses it in an alternative apostrophe:

> Angels and ministers of grace defend us!—
> Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd,
> Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell,
> By thy intents wicked or charitable,
> Thou comest in such a questionable shape
> That I will speak with thee. . . [67]

The burning question is identity; and, when at last the Ghost unfolds itself, it, for the moment, convinces Hamlet by declaring: "I am thy[68] father's spirit",[69] and according to the orthodox opinion, explains that it is being purged of its sins in the Place of Departed Spirits, and so is "Doom'd for a certain time to walk the night".[70] The revelation of the Ghost is overwhelming; and yet, even as the apparition disappears, Hamlet cries out:

> O all you host of heaven! O earth! what else?
> And shall I couple hell?[71]

But he is still under the spell, and exclaims, "O fie!" to such a doubt, and tells Horatio, "It is an honest ghost".[72] But what proof had he but the Ghost's

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[60] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 243 *et seq.*
[61] King James, *Daemonologie*, Edinburgh, 1597, 33.
[62] *Hamlet*, I, ii, 254.
[63] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 202.
[64] The present writer questions the theory of Nicoll (*op. cit.*, 67) that Shakespeare, like the author of the *Bestrafte Brudermord*, intended Hamlet to derive his doubt of the Ghost from Horatio.
[65] *Hamlet*, I, iv, 6.
[66] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 38 and 69.
[67] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 39 *et seq.* "Questionable" is a clear case of double meaning.
[68] Hamlet's father would of course use this familiar form to his son.
[69] *Hamlet*, I, v, 9.
[70] *Ibid.*, I, v, 10.
[71] *Ibid.*, I, v, 92-93.
[72] *Ibid.*, I, v, 138.

own word; and, when the dread experience wore off, how could he still be certain? At all events, in the second scene of Act II, he feels himself "Prompted" to his revenge by "heaven *and hell*",[73] and then follows his summary of Elizabethan science and folklore on the subject:

> The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil; and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape[74] ;yea, and perhaps
> Out of my weakness and my melancholy,[75]
> As he is very potent with such spirits,
> Abuses me to damn me. I'll have grounds
> More relative than this. The play's the thing
> Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king.[76]

Shakespeare could risk delaying this explanation for so long only because his audience did not really need it to understand the previous doubts of all the characters. The world of spirits, good and evil, was close to mankind in that age, as the morality plays and the religious paintings show with their miracles and commonplace events in immediate contiguity; and one's every action was conceived of as prompted by some devil or some angel.

Thus Shakespeare makes his doubt motivate Hamlet's delay in his revenge, and give a reason for the play-within-the-play. The question of returning ghosts enters the great soliloquy;[77] and he asks Horatio to "Observe" his uncle; and, if he show no guilt, "It is a damned ghost that we have seen . . . "[78] The play is played; the King cringes and hurries from the stage; Hamlet is convinced by actual proof at last, and cries aloud: "I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound".[79] The first half of the play, dominated by doubts of demonology is over. Hamlet's now firm belief gives him an entire change of manner when next he sees the Ghost in Gertrude's closet. He speaks of the apparition as "he" rather than as "it";[80] he addresses it in the third person as a king—"your gracious figure"[81]—or in the second plural, as an Elizabethan son to his parent, and not with "thou" as a human being to a spirit. He calls himself "your tardy son",[82] and refers to the Ghost as "My father in his habit as he lived".[83] He excuses himself like a courtier before royalty, for having neglected "The important acting of your dread command";[84] and here

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[73]*Ibid.*, II, ii, 560. Italics are mine. "Unpregnant of my cause" seems to signify, as Clarendon suggests, "with insufficient knowledge of". Cf. *Measure for Measure*, I, i, 12.

[74]This was a recognized proof that it was a benign rather than an evil spirit.

[75]The devil was supposed to have special power over melancholy persons. See Campbell, *op. cit.*, 84 *et seq.*

[76]*Hamlet*, II, ii, 574 *et seq.*

[77]When Hamlet says that Death is a country "from whose bourn No traveller returns" (III, i, 79-80), he is echoing the Protestant opinion that would say that the dead could not return.

[78]*Hamlet*, III, ii, 77.

[79]*Ibid.*, III, ii, 274-275.

[80]The one exception seems to be III, iv, 134.

[81]*Ibid.*, III, iv, 104.

[82]*Ibid.*, III, iv, 106.

[83]*Ibid.*, III, iv, 135.

[84]*Ibid.*, III, iv, 108.

the "dread" seems more of a king than of a ghost. Such differences of etiquette and phrasing meant much in Shakespeare's day; and Hamlet's entire manner has become somewhat like that of Laertes speaking to Polonius.

The armored ghost is a fit depiction of the warlike king; and, indeed, he is an actual ghost of the departed, despite the current doubts of demonologists, reflected in Bernardo, Marcellus, Horatio and especially in Hamlet, who above all preferred to think his father resting peacefully in heaven. This doubt explains the tardiness of his revenge at least up to the play-within-the-play; and, immediately thereafter, he surely is not tardy in killing the eavesdropper behind the arras. The identity of the Ghost is without question the major problem of the early acts, and is always kept before us until the play-within-the play has given it solution: could Shakespeare have added to his sources by sheer accident the constant iteration of this theme? If the characters took the Ghost for Hamlet's father, why didn't they call it "he" and "you" as Hamlet does in Act III, after he has become convinced, instead of "it" and "thou". Why do they constantly declare that it is "like" the king? Could any Elizabethan audience, soaked in the folklore, if not the learned demonology, of the age, have seen the Ghost and heard these questions raised without some grasp of their significance? Apparently, in the plays of his middle period, Shakespeare reflects not only the current social, economic and political transition from the Mediæval scheme of things,[85] but also the transition in popular thought and beliefs: thus, in *Hamlet,* the old Catholic conception of ghosts as the spirits of the departed, good or bad, is shown in conflict with the more purely Protestant conception of them as the devil in disguise; and here, as elsewhere, Shakespeare is conservative—or shall one say Anglican rather than Puritan—in making the Ghost an actual and worthy embodiment of a great and martial king, a characteristic figure of Elizabethan folklore and a primary motive in the action of the play. Though short, it is a major role with opportunities for the grandiose, the terrible and the pathetic; the message it gives Hamlet, even before he fully credits it, starts all the characters unwittingly on their way down to the catastrophe; and it is the basis of the ironic misunderstandings[86] in which they are more and more inextricably entangled. Indeed, it motivates both Hamlet's action and his long delay, and so makes possible the tragedy.

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[85]See the present writer, "Olivia's Household", *P. M. L. A.*

[86]See the present writer, "Hamlet's Schoolfellows", about to appear.

Shakespeare's Courtiers

By MARGARET M. TOOLE

SHAKESPEARE'S courtiers resemble Elizabeth's nobles in that some wisely preserve in their daily lives the theories expounded by Castiglione and Della Casa, while others insolently disregard the virtues which the Italian courtesy writers endeavored to impress upon the minds of sixteenth-century youths.

That there is a full realization of the Renaissance ideals of courtly conduct and discipline, a comprehensive understanding of the forces of good and evil in man's life, as well as an intimate knowledge of conditions at Elizabeth's court, is a conclusion forced upon us by an examination of the plays. Students, however, generally overlook the interesting figure of the courtier and direct their attention to other phases of Shakespeare's art.

The English nobleman's charm is exemplified in such men as Sidney, Ralegh, and Spenser. It comes from well-rounded lives in which both physical and mental exercises develop the body (by the use of arms and the rules of sport) and discipline the mind (by academic requirements and conventions of conduct).

In the dramas, the courtiers, destined by birth and training to enter into court affairs, scorn those who advanced personal fortune rather than the covereign's welfare and lament the laxity of those ethical principles which are the ultimate causes of their actions. King Henry V sums up the former's inherent qualities:

> show men dutiful?
> Why, so didst thou: seem they grave and learned?
> Why, so didst thou: come they of noble family?
> Why, so didst thou: seem they religious?
> Why, so didst thou: or are they spare in diet?
> Free from gross passion or of mirth or anger;
> Constant in spirit, not swerving with the blood;
> Garnish'd and deck'd in modest complement,
> Not working with the eye without the ear,
> And but in purged judgement trusting neither?[1]

They belong to a superior class and maintain the distinction between those who are born to rule and those who are born to be ruled, upholding their

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[1]*Henry the Fifth,* II, ii, 127-136.

honourable names, and enforcing their power by the "spice and salt" which Pandarus mentions:

> . . . do you know what a man is? Is not birth, beauty, good shape, discourse, manhood, learning, gentleness, virtue, youth, liberality, and such like, the spice and salt that season a man?[2]

Not all the courtiers are guided by this formula, however. In some, the ingredients of pride, envy, dishonesty, and cruelty compose a different being. This is so because Shakespeare as an artist knows the value of contrast, the relation of light and shade, as the ignoble sets off the noble courtier. Thus, the gentle Laertes, the dignified Prospero, and the honest Benedick possess the

> . . . justice, verity, temperance, stableness,
> Bounty, perséverance, mercy, lowliness,
> Devotion, patience, courage, fortitude,[3]

which the treacherous Iago, the enraged Gloucester, and the degraded Buckingham lack. Their deficiencies serve to accentuate the merits of more conscientious courtiers.

The latter develop their potentialities by either a native or a foreign education. Some, agreeing with Ascham that one year's study of *Il Libro del Cortegiano* in England equals three in Italy, decide to prepare for court life at home; others, believing with the majority that "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits," determine to go to the fount of urbanity, Italy. Panthino and Antonio in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* express the universal irresolution which precedes the solution of the problem:

> *Panthino.* He wond'red that your lordship
> Would suffer him to spend his youth at home,
> While other men, of slender reputation,
> Put forth their sons to seek preferment out,
> Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there;
> Some to discover islands far away;
> Some to the studious universities.
> For any or for all these exercises
> He said that Proteus your son was meet,
> And did request me to importune you
> To let him spend him time no more at home,
> Which would be a great impeachment to his age,
> In having known no travel in his youth.

[2] *Troilus and Cressida,* I, ii, 273-278.
[3] *Macbeth,* IV, iii, 91-94.

Antonio. Nor need'st thou much importune me to that
Whereon this month I have been hammering.
And how he cannot be a perfect man,
Not being tried and tutor'd in the world.
Experience is by industry achiev'd,
And perfected by the swift course of time.
Then tell me, whither were I best to send him?

Panthino. I think your lordship is not ignorant
How his companion, youthful Valentine,
Attends the Emperor in his royal court.

Antonio. I know it well.

Panthino. 'T were good, I think, your lordship sent him thither,
There shall he practise tilts and tournaments,
Hear sweet discourse, converse with noblemen,
And be in eye of every exercise
Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth.[4]

The fastidious courtier, upon the completion of his instruction, demonstrates with ease and amiability his talents in art, music, dancing, poetry, and conversation. These groups of ideas and acquisitions of skills, existing in the mind and nerves and muscles of an Elizabethan gentleman, mark him as a cultured member of polite society, fitted to add his share to the amenities of life.

His discourse manifests his suave and winning personality. Rosaline crystallizes the trends of contemporary conversation in her description of Biron's facile tongue:

His eye begets occasion for his wit;
For every object that the eye doth catch
The other turns to a mirth-moving jest,
Which his fair tongue, conceit's expositor,
Delivers in such apt and gracious words
That aged ears play truant at his tales
And younger hearings are quite ravishéd;
So sweet and voluble is his discourse.[5]

Othello apologizes for his rude speech but Falstaff defends bluntness. A delightful dialogue between Bardolph and Morton represents their ability to speak with a smooth flow of words, "plainly, distinctly, plentifully and aptly", as Wilson recommends in *The Arte of Rhetorique:*

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[4]*The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* I, iii, 4-33.
[5]*Love's Labors Lost,* II, i, 69-76.

Lord Bardolph. Sweet Earl, divorce not wisdom from your honour.
Morton. The lives of all your loving complices
Lean on your health; the which, if you give o'er
To stormy passion, must perforce decay.
You cast th' event of war, my noble lord,
And summ'd th' account of chance, before you said,
"Let us make head." It was your presurmise,
That, in the dole of blows, your son might drop.
You knew he walk'd o'er perils, on an edge,
More likely to fall in than to get o'er;
You were advis'd his flesh was capable
Of wounds and scars, and that his forward spirit
Would lift him where most trade of danger rang'd;
Yet did you say, "Go forth!" and none of this,
Though strongly apprehended, could restrain
The stiff-borne action. What hath then befallen,
Or what hath this bold enterprise brought forth,
More than that being which was like to be?[6]

This passage shows that a courtier must manipulate more tangible instruments than words; he must be dexterous in the art of defense, accepting the sword as a symbol of his precious honor.

Courtiers as free, as debonair, unarm'd,
As bending angels; that's their fame in peace:
But when they would seem soldiers, they have galls,
Good arms, strong joints, true swords, and Jove's accord.[7]

He adheres to current conventions in martial exercise and in physical play, just as he does to the newest fashions.

Frequently his elaborate apparel draws derision upon him because it is a motley of European styles:

How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany and his behaviour everywhere.[8]

Conrade and Borachio reveal a gentleman's concern in fashions:

Conrade. I see that the fashion wears out more apparel than the man. But art not thou thyself giddy with the fashion too, that thou hast shifted out of thy tale into telling me of the fashion?[9]

They proclaim a courtier's pride in conforming to changing modes and pre-

[6] *King Henry the Fourth,* Part II; I, i, 161-179.
[7] *Troilus and Cressida,* I, iii, 235-238.
[8] *The Merchant of Venice,* I, ii, 80-83.
[9] *Much Ado About Nothing,* III, iii, 149-152.

vailing manners. Even Falstaff, in *King Henry the Fourth,* Part I, lightheartedly enumerates the articles of his dress; the prince also inventories his wardrobe, finding peach-coloured hose despite a paucity of shirts and linen.

> The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword;
> Th' expectancy and rose of the fair state;
> The glass of fashion and the mold of form;
> Th' observed of all observers.[10]

The ideal noble at Elizabeth's court has a sweet nature, an excellent wit, and a good memory; he speaks Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish more or less fluently; he knows philosophy, logic, mathematics, the accepted theories of navigation and military art; he is eminent for his sobriety and his chastity, for his temperance and diet and his gaudy attire. His companions are books and his friends men of learning in the arms or the arts. This pious, just, generous, and consummately perfect man adds chivalry to his brilliant career and edifies his mourners with a heavenly death-bed speech. His purpose in life and his duty to his prince are to teach goodness,[11] to encourage continency, to stimulate courage, to enact justice, and to suggest temperance. Never does he surpass the prince, who evinces diligence, gentleness, kindness, and liberality on all occasions. But he is the ideal and not the real gentleman.

Believing that counsel helps to mold such a character, the Countess advises Bertram:

> Be thou blest, Bertram, and succeed thy father
> In manners as in shape. Thy blood and virtue
> Contend for empire in thee, and thy goodness
> Share with thy birthright. Love all, trust a few,
> Do wrong to none; be able for thine enemy
> Rather in power than in use, and keep thy friend
> Under thy own life's key: be check'd for silence,
> But never tax'd for speech.[12]

A philosophy which considers man's value and dignity motivates Shakespeare's courtiers. They condemn materialism, deplore epicureanism, cognizant of the Renaissance conception of philosophy as moral conduct in action. They carry out their intention to please everyone by observing the strict court regulations advocated by Castiglione and Della Casa in Italy, by Wilson, Elyot, and Ascham in England; by cultivating the Christian virtues of faith, hope,

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[10] *Hamlet,* III, i, 160-163.
[11] Thornbury, G. W., *Shakespeare's England,* London, 1856. Vol. II, pp. 403-405.
[12] *All's Well That Ends Well,* I, i, 69-77.

charity, and humility in order to perfect themselves and to serve the state. They prefer to discuss logic, to practise rhetoric, to exhilirate their minds and senses with poetry and music.

Aesthetics quickens men's thoughts and shapes their actions. In the paradoxical Elizabethan world where beauty and goodness oppose ugliness and evil, Iago is the epitome of evil men. He releases the base desires which ordinary men repress; he professes disdain for a good life and his confidence in an immoral career, ridiculing virtue as a "fig" in that famous speech in which he likens the body to a garden. Iago, the villain, improves his status honorably or dishonorably; he does not hold the standards set by meekness, love, charity, obedience, and duty which lead to contentment and happiness if strengthened by youth, beauty, wisdom, and courage. Mercy, a symbol of nobility in an age which left a record of horror as well as a memory of brotherhood, is not an element of Iago's being. Neither friendship nor love influenced him although they are prime factors in a courtier's life.

Antonio and Bassanio are classic examples of harmonious relations involving sacrifice, as Valentine and Proteus are illustrative of forgiveness. Love involves prescribed technique in order to obtain the mistress's favor. In addressing her the suitor praises her loveliness, dwells on her superiority to his lowliness, uses extravagant metaphors to emphasize the ardor of his passion, or, as a last resort, he ranks her higher than a rival. Jacques characteristically says:

> One that hath been a courtier,
> And says, if ladies be but young and fair,
> They have the gift to know it: and in his brain,
> Which is as dry as the remainder biscuit
> After a voyage, he hath strange places cramm'd
> With observation, the which he vents
> In mangled forms [13]

Romeo's tender speeches are landmarks in literary history; France's chivalry toward Cordelia is notable; Ferdinand's affection for Miranda is fairly placid. These courtiers are like the Elizabethan nobles: Sidney, Ralegh, and Spenser, bland gentlemen, accomplished in the art of captivating an alluring lady's favor. Their procedure is similar to Gremio's, who advises a young suitor to read books of love to his lady, or to that of Antipholus of Syracuse, who esteems original expression as a means of persuading a beautiful woman.

[13] *As You Like It,* II, vii, 36-42.

Various characters mirror Shakespeare's courtiers. The reflection of their bodies and their spirits, their virtues and their vices, their agility in arms and adeptness in art is usually clear and sharp. Jacques and Touchstone gently subject the noble gentleman to their satirical wit:

> *Jacques.* Good my lord, bid him welcome. This is the motley-minded gentleman that I have so often met in the forest: he hath been a courtier, he swears.
> *Touchstone.* If any man doubt that, let him put me to my purgation. I have trod a measure; I have flattered a lady; I have been politic with my friend, smooth with mine enemy; I have undone three tailors; I have had four quarrels, and like to have fought one.
> *Jacques.* And how was that ta'en up?
> *Touchstone.* Faith, we met, and found the quarrel was upon the seventh cause.
> *Jacques.* How seventh cause?
>
> * * * * * *
>
> *Touchstone.* Upon a lie seven times removed. . . as thus, sir. I did dislike the cut of a certain courtier's beard; he sent me word, if I said his beard was not cut well, he was in the mind it was: this is called the "retort courteous". If I sent him word again, it was not well cut, he would send me word, he cut it to please himself: this is called he "quip modest". If again, it was not well cut, he disabled my judgement; this is called the "reply churlish". If again, it was not cut well, he would answer, I spake not true: this is called the "reproof valiant": if again, it was not well cut, he would say, I lie: this is called the "counter-check quarrelsome": and so on to the "lie circumstantial" and the "lie direct."[14]

In the plays, the courtly and patrician Antonio, Bassanio, Henry IV, and Proteus stand beside the incomparable and sagacious Romeo, Macbeth, Laertes, and Hamlet. Romeo, the great Italian yearning for perfection; Macbeth, a potential courtier deluded by ambition; Laertes, an "absolute gentleman," embody the advice of Polonius:

> . . . And these few precepts in thy memory
> See thou charácter. Give thy thoughts no tongue,
> Nor any unproportion'd thought his act;
> Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.
> The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel;
> But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
> Of each new-hatch'd, unfledg'd comráde. Beware
> Of entrance to a quarrel; but being in,

[14] *Ibid,* V, iv, 40-54 and 71-86.

Bear't that th' opposéd may beware of thee.
Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice;
Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment.
Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich, not gaudy;
For the apparel oft proclaims the man,
And they in France of the best rank and station
Are most select and generous in that.
Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.
This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.[15]

Hamlet looms above them all, the embodiment of nobility in thought and deed until his mental derangement; the supreme example in English drama of the Italian ideal enunciated in *Il Iibro del Cortegiano.* Hamlet, idealist and humanist, patron of the arts and an erudite scholar, a skilled fencer and a brilliant conversationalist, an affectionate son and a faithful friend, perceives beauty and goodness as one and indissoluble. This strong, courageous, comely courtier fulfills the Italian hope by his manner of speech, his freedom and dignity of utterance, and his extensive vocabulary. He is the crystallization into words of a great mind, a perfect courtier who might have lived in the heyday of Elizabethan culture.

[15]*Hamlet,* I, iii, 58-80.

Twin-Voice of Shakespeare

By CARL J. WEBER

ON April 23, 1864, England celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shakespeare. That is,—most of England did. There was one man in London, however, who took no part in the celebration. During a religious conference he expressed, "with a voice like a bassoon," his indignation that "at this very moment there is proceeding a blasphemous celebration of the birth of Shakespeare, a lost soul now suffering for his sins in hell."[1]

Not all writers endowed with intimations of Shakespeare's immortality have been of this opinion regarding the place of his eternal abode. George Moore, for example, thought of him as seated "in the other place", as Hamlet would put it, and imagined Thomas Hardy's joining him in heaven thus:

> When he [Hardy] advances to meet our God, never having known him on earth, he may ask the God to point out his (Mr. Hardy's) seat to him; or it may be that he will seek his seat himself, and not finding it next to Shakespeare . . . , he will . . . complain . . . 'The author of *Tess* and *Jude* . . . ', the God will reply, 'would place himself next to . . . Shakespeare! . . . Let him be hurled into the hollows . . . !'[2]

George Moore was, of course, in a particularly nasty humor when he wrote those words. Hardy would never have complained, no matter where he found the seat assigned to him; and, contrary to Moore's idea, one can easily imagine his being warmly greeted and welcomed into heaven by Will Shakespeare. More recently the following conversation may have taken place between these two:—

S.—"I notice that they have listed your delightful poem about me in a recent Shakespeare Association Bulletin."

H.—"Yes, though it doesn't cut much of a figure there,—item 5118: 'To S.' "

S.—"Oh, they do better than that. They list it twice! Item 5140 is really the same thing."

H.—"But what a pitiful trifle 'To S' looks like! When I see a life-time of devotion all shriveled up into that insignificant little 'To S', I think of the famous letter that Sidney Lanier wrote to his father back in 1873. I can almost make use of his identical words. 'My dear Shakespeare, think how, for seventy years, through poverty, through pain, through weariness, through sickness, through the uncongenial atmosphere of an exacting professional life, and then of a hostile society, through all the discouragement

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[1]Edmund Gosse: *Father and Son*, 1907, p. 306 (9th ed.).
[2]*Conversations in Ebury Street*, 1924, p. 127.

of being wholly unacquainted with literary people and literary ways,—I say, think how, in spite of all these depressing circumstances, and of a thousand more which I could enumerate, the music and poetry of Shakespeare have steadily kept in my heart, so that I could not banish them. Does it not seem to you, as to me, that I begin to have the right to enroll myself among Shakespearian devotees, after having followed you so long and so humbly, and through so much lack of recognition of my service?"

One is tempted to continue this dialogue in heaven,

> But this eternal blazon must not be
> To ears of flesh and blood.[3]

Let us get back to earth.

I was reminded of the modesty of Item 5118, "To S",[4] by chancing upon the following words in the pages of an old magazine:—

> Hardy is . . . a great and lonely figure in our literature. It is possible to trace the descent of almost every other writer, to name the artistic influences that went to his making, but Hardy is without literary ancestry . . . We know . . . what porridge John Keats had, but we do not know that of Hardy.[5]

Without literary ancestry? What nonsense! Hardy began with Shakespeare, continued with Shakespeare, and ended with Shakespeare. Hardy has been suspected[6] of indebtedness to Zola and to the French realists, but he always denied having yielded to the influence of any school of writers. Helen Garwood[7] and Ernest Brennecke[8] have traced Hardy's relation to Schopenhauer. Some more recent critics[9] have detected flaws in Hardy's assimilation of Greek drama. Hardy's immense debt to the King James Bible has been recently studied at Ohio Wesleyan University by a graduate student[10] whose unpublished findings I have been permitted to see.[11] There have, too, been a number of readers who have detected Shakespearian echoes here and there in Hardy's work. Theodore Maynard, for example, observes: "Hardy's diction gives many evidences of having been based upon Shakespeare's. His early sonnets

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[3]*Hamlet*, I, v, 21.

[4]Shakespeare Association Bulletin, Jan. 1933, p. 32.

[5]A. St. John Adcock, in Canadian Magazine (Toronto), May 1923, p. 36.

[6]Thomas G. Selby: *The Theology of Modern Fiction*, London, 1896; and Samuel L. Wilson: *The Theology of Modern Literature*, Edinburgh, 1899.

[7]Helen Garwood: *Thomas Hardy, an Illustration of the Philosophy of Schopenhauer;* Philadelphia, 1911.

[8]Ernest Brennecke, Jr.: *Thomas Hardy's Universe, A Study of the Poet's Mind;* Boston, 1924.

[9]W. L. Courtney: "Mr. Thomas Hardy and Aeschylus", Fortnightly Review (107: 464-477, 629-640), 1917; J. S. Smart: *Shakespeare: Truth and Tradition*, 1928, p. 9; J. H. Fowler: *The Novels of Thomas Hardy*, 1928, p. 10.

[10]Tipton Westfall.

[11]For this courtesy and this information I am indebted to Professor F. Amy.

are Shakespearian, in diction as well as pattern."[12] But a rather common view is that of Thomas H. Dickinson: "We see many traits that strengthen the association of the name of Hardy with that of Shakespeare; and yet in the entire work there isn't a line that one can say is reminiscent of Shakespeare."[13]

Closer study will, I am sure, call for the abandonment of this last statement. The full extent of Hardy's debt to Shakespeare has not yet been measured, and to present a complete study of it will require more space than can be provided in the Shakespeare Association Bulletin. But the meagerness of a mere "T. Hardy" in the Bibliography and such a statement as that quoted above from the Canadian Magazine make me wish to offer at once a little of the evidence already available for naming Hardy as one of Shakespeare's most devoted followers.

His devotion was extended over seventy years of his life. The two volumes of Mrs. Hardy's biography are full of accounts of the novelist's interest in the dramatist. It began at the age of twelve with the reading of Shakespeare's tragedies for the plots only. By the time that Hardy was twenty-five, he had gone from Dorchester up to London, and there during Phelps's series of Shakespeare's plays at Drury Lane he followed up every one. He went, not as an idle spectator seeking amusement, but used to carry a copy of the play with him and was among the first in the pit crowd, night after night. When he was twenty-eight he read various Shakespearian plays, while making his own first attempts at writing and with results that I am shortly to disclose. At the age of thirty, while keeping up a regular correspondence with Miss Gifford, he continued to read Shakespeare. In the margin of his copy of *Hamlet* he marked with the date "December 15, 1870," the passage, "Thou wouldst not think how ill all's here about my heart." And he recorded "July 1871" in his copy of *Macbeth* beside the passage that runs: "Things at their worst will cease or else climb upward." After his marriage, the Hardys lived for a while (in 1881) at Wimborne, and were there called in to Shakespeare "readings". On February 4th and again on February 11th, 1882, Hardy attended readings of *The Tempest.* Two years later strolling players were at Dorchester. Hardy went (August 14, 1884) to see their performance of *Othello* and wrote up an amusing account of it afterwards.[14] In 1888 he

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[12] "The Poetry of Thomas Hardy": Catholic World, April 1926, p. 49.
[13] "Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts*": North American Review (195: 542), April 1912.
[14] *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy,* 1928, p. 218.

was greatly interested in the Shakespearian plays given by Ada Rehan, and on July 9th of this year he saw her and Drew in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Just after he had passed his fiftieth birthday he went again to see her in *As You Like It*. Mrs. Hardy thinks it possible that his poem "The Two Rosalinds" was suggested by this performance of July 2, 1890. A year later he records Shakespeare quotations heard at the dinner table in a London hotel. In 1896 Hardy and his wife went to Stratford-on-Avon and took lodgings there for a week in August. He visited the places associated with Shakespeare and there began to re-read *King Lear*. He finished the play September 6, 1896, while at Dover, and wrote out some observations on it[15] in which he disagreed with the "commentators". On June 26, 1905, when he was sixty-five, he replied[16] to a query from the Shakespeare Memorial Committee, and three years later wrote another letter in which he expressed his view of Shakespeare's chief distinction.[17] In April 1916 he wrote the little poem mentioned in the Bulletin as cited above, and two years later, when he was seventy-eight, he again recorded his views of Shakespeare (May 1918).[18] Hardy was eighty-two years old in 1922, but not too old to like still to recall those early London days when he would carry a text of Shakespeare to the theatre and sit in the front row and follow the printed dialogue by the stage lights. In July of that year he attended an outdoor performance of *A Midsummer Nigt's Dream* given given by amateurs.

This outline of a life-long interest in Shakespeare presents in itself nothing unusual except its unbroken length. The remarkable part of Hardy's debt is disclosed only when you turn to his works. More than any other English author Thomas Hardy had saturated his mind with Shakespearian words, Shakespearian thoughts, Shakespearian characters, Shakespearian attitudes, Shakespearian situations, Shakespearian humor, Shakespearian tragedy.

"Upon the sources of Hardy's thought," a French writer[19] recently remarked, "all has not been said, even in Mr. Brennecke's book on Hardy and Schopenhauer. We have found gaps."[20] To ignore Shakespeare as a source is to leave more than a gap; it is to leave a chasm.

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[15]*The Later Years of Thomas Hardy*, 1930, p. 54.
[16]*Ibid.* 112.
[17]*Ibid.* 131-132.
[18]*Ibid.* 187.
[19]Pierre D'Exideuil: *Le Couple Humain dans l'Oeuvre de Thomas Hardy*, Paris, 1928.
[20]Translation by Felix W. Crosse, London, 1930, p. 10.

That part of Hardy's debt which is most easily recognized consists of direct quotations from the plays. *Hamlet* seems to be the play most frequently quoted, but Hardy knows them all, from the earliest to the latest. He knows the lines that everyone can quote, but he knows unusual and little quoted lines as well. He quoted Shakespeare when he began to write novels, and he was still quoting Shakespeare when he stopped writing novels. I question whether the following list can be paralleled in the work of any other novelist.[21]

Titus Andronicus:

"*Integer vitae, . . .* o 'tis a verse in Horace" (IV, ii) is echoed in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles:* " 'Integer vitae' says a Roman Poet" (ch. 34).

Two Gentlemen of Verona:

"Poor wounded name", etc. (I, ii, 111) is quoted on the title page of *Tess.*

Romeo and Juliet:

Romeo of the . . . Montagues (II, ii, 60) figures in *The Well-Beloved,* ch. 8.

"Too rash, too unadvised, too sudden" (II, ii, 118): quoted in *The Well-Beloved.*

"Violent delights . . . violent ends" (II, vi, 9) is quoted in *Tess,* 33.

"Romeo . . . eloping with Juliet" (II, vi); recalled in *Well-Beloved,* 8.

Richard II:

"Fear and be slain", etc. (III, ii, 183) is quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* ch. 18.

"What sport shall we devise", etc., (III, iv, 1) in quoted at length in *Two on a Tower,* 27.

Midsummer Night's Dream:

"A fair vestal thronèd", etc. (II, i, 150): quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* ch. 1.

Puck . . . Hermia . . . Demetrius (III, ii) figure in *Two on a Tower,* 39.

Henry IV, Part I:

"Thought's the slave of life", etc., quoted in 1911 Preface to *Tess.*

Henry IV, Part II:

Shallow and Silence (V. iii): referred to in *Mayor of Casterbridge,* 28.

Henry V:

"Falstaff . . . talked of the whore of Babylon" (II, iii, 38): imitated in *Jude.*

As You Like It:

"Sermons in stones", etc. (II, i, 17): quoted in *Tess,* 23.

"Under the greenwood tree (II, v, 1): used as title of novel.

"Come hither, come hither," etc. (II, v, 5): quoted on the last page of *Under the Greenwood Tree.*

"Thank Heaven fasting for a good man's love" (III, v, 58): quoted in *The Mayor of Casterbridge,* 33.

Twelfth Night:

"Journeys end in lovers meeting" (II, iii, 44): quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 11.

"No cakes and ale" (II, iii, 125): quoted June 1890; see *Early Life of Thomas Hardy,* 296.

"Worm i' the bud" (II, iv, 114): quoted twice, in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 11, and in *The Mayor of Casterbridge,* 34.

"Patience on a monument" (II, iv, 117): quoted in *Tess,* 9.

[21] I cannot claim to have made a complete tabulation, and shall be grateful for notification about omissions I am sure to have permitted.

"Time brings in his revenges" (V, i, 389): loosely quoted in *Two on a Tower*, 41.

All's Well That Ends Well:

This title is used at least five times by Hardy: in *A Laodicean*, VI, 4; *Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid*, 5; *The Waiting Supper*, IV; *The Woodlanders*, 29; and *Jude*, VI, 5.

Measure for Measure:

"Love talks with better knowledge," etc.: quoted in *Woodlanders*, 45.

"Take, o take those lips away (IV, i): quoted in *Tess*, 9.

Julius Caesar:

"Calphurnia's cheek is pale" (I, ii, 184): loosely quoted in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, 37.

Hamlet:

"A violet in the youth", etc. (I, iii, 7): quoted on the title-page of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*.

"Sigh gratis" (II, ii, 338): quoted in *Tess*, 28.

"Exclaim against their own succession" (II, ii, 367): quoted in *Tess*, 26.

"Is it not monstrous" (II, ii, 585): loosely quoted in *Jude*, VI, 3.

"Endure the ills we have than fly", etc. (III, i, 81): loosely quoted in *Tess*, 36.

"As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing" (III, ii, 71): quoted in *The Woodlanders*, 30.

"Where love is great", etc. (III, iii, 181): quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 27.

"Let a beast be lord of beasts", etc. (V. ii, 88): quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 9.

King Lear:

Lear on the heath (III, ii): referred to in 1895 preface to *The Return of the Native*.

"More sinned against than sinning" (III, ii, 60): quoted in *Tess*, 35.

"As flies to wanton boys", etc. (IV, i, 38): quoted in the 1892 preface to *Tess*.

Macbeth:

"Cabin'd, cribb'd", etc. (III, iv, 24): paraphrased in *Tess*, 2.

"To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow" (V, v, 19): paraphrased in *Tess*, 19.

"Tale told by an idiot" (V, v, 26): quoted in *Tess*, 53.

"Full of sound and fury signifying nothing" (V, v, 27): quoted in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, 4.

Cymbeline:

The two mourners in *Cymbeline* (IV, ii): referred to in *The Woodlanders*, 45.

The Tempest:

"We are such stuff as dreams are made on" (IV, i, 156): echoed in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, 54.

Sonnets:

"In me thou seest", etc. (73rd): quoted in *The Well-Beloved*, III, i.

"Which alters when . . . finds" (116th): quoted in *Tess*, 53.

Shakespeare is mentioned by name at least twice, in *Jude the Obscure*, II, i; and III, iv.

In addition to this verbal indebtedness, one should mention Hardy's obligation to Shakespeare in a larger but vaguer sense. The very bulk of this debt and the mass of evidence about it make it impossible for me even to outline it here. I am forced to content myself with giving two examples of this sort of Shakespearian influence,—one comic, the other tragic. Edmund K. Broadus recently called attention to the first of these examples thus: 'If you

will read the grave-digger scene in *Hamlet* and the twenty-sixth chapter of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* side by side, you will see what is meant by saying that Hardy's peasants are "Shakespearian."[22] This parallel has often been pointed out. Samuel C. Chew, for example, noted it: "One rustic scene, that in the church vault where the yokels are preparing for the burial of Lady Luxellian, is . . . touched with Shakespearian reminiscence."[23] Leon H. Vincent was one of the first to be bold enough to confess to recognizing Shakespeare's voice in this now famous chapter. He wrote:

> There are few scenes . . . more telling than that . . . in the family vault of the Luxellians . . . It seems hardly wise to pronounce this episode as good as the grave-diggers' scene in *Hamlet* . . . But I profess that I enjoy the talk of old Simeon and Martin Cannister quite as much as the talk of the first and second grave-diggers.[24]

The second example I choose because in my list of plays from which Hardy quoted *Othello* is missing, and I am interested to show that this play had not been neglected by the novelist. I present the testimony of an able Hardy critic, Henry C. Duffin, who is speaking of *The Return of the Native:*

> The crisis of the story—in the scene between Yeobright and Eustacia in her bedroom . . . is one of Hardy's great pieces, and I have no hesitation in placing it among the greatest scenes of combat between man and woman that I have met. In its agony, its mutual misunderstanding, its passionate grief and regret, its tremendous anger, it is profoundly reminiscent of some of the scenes between Othello and Desdemona, especially of that in Act IV, Scene 2. Such passages as this:
>
> "I shall no doubt be gratified by learning in good time what a well-finished and full-blown adept in a certain trade my lady is.
>
> "Do you say it to me—do you?" she gasped. . . . such passages appear to have been suggested by their Shakespearan parallels.[25]
>
> 1921, p. 111.

In 1926 a poem[26] appeared in the London *Observer,* the fourth stanza of which reads:—

> Grey eyes of youth within a wrinkled face,
> Twin-voice of Shakespeare, talking of the world
> And how it changes, yet remains the same, . . .
> I remember when I came.

When the evidence is all in, I think that it will be clear that "through pain, through weariness, through sickness", throughout a long life, Thomas Hardy studied and pondered the work of Shakespeare, until it became almost second-nature for him to talk and think like him,—until he truly became the "twin-voice of Shakespeare."

---

[22]Broadus: *The Story of English Literature;* N. Y., 1931, p. 531.
[23]Chew: *Thomas Hardy, Poet and Novelist;* N. Y., 1928, p. 31.
[24]Vincent: *The Bibliotaph and Other People;* Boston, 1898, p. 100.
[25]Henry C. Duffin: *Thomas Hardy: A Study of the Wessex Novels;* Manchester: 2d ed.,
[26]*A Stranger at Max Gate,* by Frederick Heath.

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Editorial Notes

By S. A. T.

A special meeting of the Board of Directors of our Association was held on April 28th and business of great importance was transacted. To fill the vacancy left by the death of Professor Thorndike, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach was unanimously and enthusiastically elected to the presidency. Professor John H. H. Lyon of Columbia University was elected Second Vice-President, and Miss Myra B. Martin, one of the staunchest pillars of the Association, was elected Third Vice-President. Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum was elected Secretary of the Association as well as Editor of the Bulletin. Professor Robert M. Smith of Lehigh University, Mr. John E. Hannigan of Boston, and Mr. Frank Lea Short of New York were designated to fill vacancies on the Board of Trustees. Members of the Board of Trustees for the classes of 1936 and 1937 were also nominated, as appears on the Ballots enclosed in this copy of the Bulletin.

All members are requested to exercise their privilege of voting for the nominees and to return the Ballots promptly to the Secretary.

Dr. Rosenbach, being a book-lover as well as a scholar and a Shakespeare enthusiast, plans to make the Bulletin one of the finest and most important, as well as best looking, scholarly magazines in America,—a magazine which all bibliophiles will be proud to own and to preserve, and which scholars the world over will not only consult but treasure.

Our members will probably like to know something about our new President. He was born on July 22, 1876, in Philadelphia and was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, with the B.A. degree, in 1898; in 1901 his Alma Mater, where he subsequently taught English for a while, conferred upon him the degree of Ph.D. In 1927 the same University honored him with the degree of D.F.A. After teaching for a time, he decided to go into the business of buying and selling books, and has become the most distinguished dealer in books, manuscripts, and other art objects in the world. The most precious literary rarities not belonging to public libraries have passed through his hands. His own private collection of rare books and manuscripts, especially of Elizabethana and Shakespeariana, is one of the finest in the world. Scholars from every part of the globe visit the Doctor's libraries, both in Philadelphia and in New York, and are accorded every opportunity to study these treasures at their leisure.

Dr. Rosenbach is the President of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College, President of the Pennsylvania Literary Club, President of the Philobiblion Club of Philadelphia, the Founder of a Fellowship in Bibliography at the University of Philadelphia, besides being Trustee in many learned societies. He is the author of a large number of essays, pamphlets, and books on bibliographic and literary matters, notably *Early American Children's Books* (1933), *Books and Bidders* (1928), *An American Jewish Bibliography* (1926), and *The All-Embracing Franklin* (1932).

His favorite recreations are hunting down unique literary items and fishing. He is a good sport and a bachelor. His New York home is at 15 E. 51st St., his Philadelphia home is at 2006 De Lancey St., and his summer home at Corson's Inlet, New Jersey.

The Board of Directors plans, with the assistance of the new President, to make THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA a publication society and to invite students from all American Universities to submit to the Association their theses on Elizabethan topics for publication.

Miss Charlotte E. Porter, of Boston, the distinguished editor of the "First Folio Shakespeare"—a monument to American Shakespeare scholarship—suggested to the Board that the Association celebrate the publication of the First Folio in November by having our annual dinner in November of this year. The Board voted to act upon this excellent suggestion. Members will be notified of the progress of the plan.

In all probability the next annual dinner of our Association will be marked by the reading of one or two papers on Shakespearian topics by outstanding scholars. Members will be invited to discuss the papers.

The Stratford Players are ready to pay another visit to America if there is sufficient indication that the American public would give them support. Those who would like the Players to come to the United States are requested to write to this effect to Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, 23 Wall St., New York, N. Y.

To enable the Association to carry out its plans members are requested to pay their dues ($2 per annum) promptly and to urge their friends to join our organization. We have not given up the hope of having a permanent and subsidized Shakespeare Theatre in New York, with a permanent and well-trained company of actors, and a Shakespeare library, such as Professor Joseph Adams envisaged in a notable address three years ago.

Shakespeare's birthday was celebrated in New York, not vociferously but lovingly, by ceremonies at the Ward statue of the poet in Central Park. A group of worshippers laid wreathes on the statue, one of them—a tribute from the Shakespeare Club of New York—containing a conspicuous white rose (the symbol of St. George's day). Prayers were said and Miss Blanche Yurka read a few of the poet's best *Sonnets*. In the evening a group of actors gave a performance of *The Taming of the Shrew* at Stuyvesant High School, to which the public was admitted free of charge. At the Hippodrome a performance of *Romeo and Juliet* was given. There was also a Shakespeare celebration at New York University.

The spirit of farce is not dead. During the Great War the Germans justified their continued interest in Shakespeare by proclaiming him a German dramatist. "Shakespeare is

Germany!" has been a favorite slogan with many Germans for many years. It is astonishing, none the less, to read in the New York Times (April 25, 1934) that the German Shakespeare Society has found it necessary — or convenient? — under the cultured regime of Herr Hitler to proclaim Shakespeare "the greatest dramatist of the German race." To fit in with the Nazi philosophy, says the German association, "our whole conception of Shakespeare's personality must be revised." In other words, German scholars will ransack and distort Shakespeare's "gentle" and "sweet" Bard was a Nazi. Americans will no doubt recall the words of one of our most discerning Shakespearian scholars, Richard G. White, the substance of which was that 'your German Shakespearian scholar can go down deeper and come up muddier than any other.'

Those who were thrilled last year by the reports of the brilliant performances of an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in the U.S.S.R. will probably be equally interested to learn that in Moscow and in Leningrad the following plays are being produced or in preparation for production: *Twelfth Night, Romeo and Juliet, Antony and Cleopatra, The Merchant of Venice, King Lear,* and *Richard III.* We wish the Russian version of *Hamlet* would come to New York.

Mr. Walter Hampden, one of our Vice-Presidents, is coming to Brooklyn with *Hamlet* and *Macbeth.* These plays are not bawdy enough for New York. Lovers of great dramatic art and superb acting must not fail to see Mr. Hampden's performances. His Hamlet is an unforgettable delight. Brooklyn is to be congratulated.

A book to which we should like to call our readers' attention is Mr. Mark Eccles's *Christopher Marlowe in London* which has just been published by the Harvard University Press (Cambridge, Mass.). Mr. Eccles has discovered documents which throw light on Marlowe's turbulent and disorderly character as well as on the character of the poet Watson. We regret only that Mr. Eccles's good fortune has not—not yet, at any rate—brought forth anything regarding the greatest of the Elizabethans, the god of our idolatry, except by contrast. The more we know these Elizabethans the more we respect this Shakespeare.

Just as we go to press we learn of the death of Hon. Thomas W. Churchill, one of our ablest, most devoted, and most enthusiastic members. He was a member of our Board of Trustees and could always be relied upon to do his full duty. All during his long and active career as teacher, office-holder, and judge, he never neglected his Shakespeare. In his death many of our associates will feel a keen personal loss.

A SILLY STORY ABOUT SHAKESPEARE

Of late it has become fashionable with a group of English writers to associate the name of our Bard with

obscenity, filth and smut. Thus, for example, Mr. Logan P. Smith (*On Reading Shakespeare,* 1933, page 9) charges Shakespeare with having delighted in "ribaldry" and "ithyphallic fun." We can forgive this in a writer who has so little appreciation of Shakespeare's art and so little knowledge of psychiatry that he can say (on the same page) that Lear's "obscene railings against the mere fact of sex . . . are qite inappropriate to his circumstances and situation."

But this is venial in comparison with Mr. J. M. Mackail's statement in an eight-page "life of Shakespeare" (in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies,* The Cambridge University Press, 1934, page 6) that "the story of Shakespeare and Burbage recorded by Manningham in his extant diary (March 13, 1601/2) may be true." The anecdote, false on the face of it and ignored by most biographers, runs as follows (in modernized spelling and punctuation, etc.): "Upon a time when Burbage played Richard III there was a citizen[ess] gone so far in liking with him that before she went from the play she appointed him to come that night unto her by name 'Richard III.' Shakespeare, overhearing their conclusion, went before, was entertained and at his game ere Burbage came. Then message being brought that Richard III was at the door, Shakespeare caused return to be made that 'William the Conqueror was before Richard III.' Shakespeare's name [is] William."

Common sense at once repudiates this story as an improbable fiction. Obviously, this bit of ribaldry requires the names William and Richard III and was applied to the poet and to Burbage (as Richard III) only because of the convenient association of their names. We know how common it is for smutty stories to be credited to certain persons only because of some such accidental association or because of a desire to make the story more interesting by linking it up with prominent names, *e.g.,* Lincoln, Washington, Choate, Depew, etc. Even assuming that the "Citizen" would have accepted a substitute, it is impossible that a message would have been delivered to her and her paramour while they were "at their game." The falsity of the story is so evident that it ought not to be permitted to soil the pages of a "life" of Shakespeare for general readers.

S. A. T.

Communication

A Note on *Romeo and Juliet*

IN Act I, Scene III, of *Romeo and Juliet,* lines 33 and 34 of the Nurse's first long speech:

> Shake, quoth the dove house: 'twas no need, I trow,
> To bid me trudge.

may be understood differently from their interpretation by modern editors. The Variorum has no note on these lines. Contemporary editors either make no comment or assume a reference to the earthquake mentioned in line 23 of the same speech: " 'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years." The meaning assumed is that the dove house shook during the earthquake.[1] However, such a meaning has no intelligible relation to the rest of lines 33 and 34, nor to the foregoing and succeeding lines which are not about the earthquake but about Juliet. Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon* cites "shake" in this passage as "an interjection" which seems to me to mean not much of anything. Therefore I suggest the following interpretation.

According to the N. E. D., "shake" may be a poetical word for: "to go, pass, move, journey; to flee, depart. Said of persons and things, and both in physical and non-physical senses."[2] Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* says that "shake" means: "to dance; originally to go at a great rate, to move rapidly." It is entirely possible that the word meant these things to Shakespeare fully as much as it meant what it means to us: "to tremble, agitate," etc.

With the foregoing meanings in mind, consider the tenor of the garrulous speech of the Nurse. She tells how on that day of the earthquake she sat in the sun by the dove house wall and put wormwood on her breast to wean the infant Juliet. The bitter taste made the baby peevish enough to "fall out with the dug." Whereupon, "Shake!" quoth the dove house to the Nurse,[3] or

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[1]Arden edition note: "Daniel notes the phrase in other dramas of the day, as Peele, *Old Wives' Tale* (ed. Neilson), 1. 746: 'Bounce, quoth the guns.' Exactly the same words are in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle,* v. 1, 95."

[2]N. E. D.: *c.* 1450, Lovelich *Merlin* (2744), "Grete diches we scholen here make, wherthorwgh this water schal forth Schake." *c.* 1450— *Holy Grail* (xiv. 282), "And whanne Of his Swowneng tho he Ewook, Anon there Into A Sadel he Schook." *?c.* 1475. *Hunt. Hare.* (66), "To the town the husband wentt, As fast as he myght schake." 15.. *Wedding of Syr Gawene* (741) in *Syr Gawayne* (Bannatyne Club), 298, "Syr Gawen rose, and in his hand he toke His fayr lady, and to the dore he shoke."

[3]The same construction in First *Henry IV,* Act II, Scene I, line 53, supports the notion that the Nurse causes the dove house to speak:

Gadshill: What, ho! chamberlain!
Cham.: (Within) At hand, quoth pick-purse.
Gadshill: That's even as fair as—at hand, quoth the chamberlain, etc.

"Get out!" or "Make tracks!", or the Elizabethan equivalent of "Scram!", implying, as the Nurse well knew, that her rôle of wet nurse was acted out, finished. Therefore she says:

> 'twas no need, I trow,
> To bid me trudge;

as much as to say: "Nobody needed to tell me my business; I knew my duty; I knew I was no longer needed." Then she goes on to tell of Juliet's falling down and bumping her forehead, and twice over of the witty remarks her husband made about the accident.

Note that the whole speech is about Juliet. The earthquake is merely incidental, not important in itself. In the mind of the Nurse it serves only to make a point in time by which she dates the far more weighty business of weaning Juliet. Thus, the above interpretation is more relevant to the ideas of the whole speech and much more consistent with the character of the addle-pated, yet devoted, Nurse whose world knows not cataclysms nor anything but the Capulet family and especially the precious child in her care. Since the whole play is full of puns, might not "shake" here be just another example of a play upon words?

Paul Fatout.

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